

WORKS ISSUED BY
The Hakluyt Society.

THE DIARY

WILLIAM HEDGES, Esq.

No. LXXIV.

THE DIARY



OF

WILLIAM HEDGES, Esq.

(*AFTERWARDS SIR WILLIAM HEDGES*).

DURING HIS AGENCY IN BENGAL;

AS WELL AS ON HIS VOYAGE OUT AND RETURN OVERLAND;

(1681-1687).

TRANSCRIBED FOR THE PRESS, WITH INTRODUCTORY NOTES, ETC.,

BY

R. BARLOW, Esq.

AND ILLUSTRATED BY COPIOUS EXTRACTS FROM
UNPUBLISHED RECORDS, ETC.,

BY

COLONEL HENRY YULE, R.E., C.B., LL.D.,

PRESIDENT OF THE HAKLUYUT SOCIETY.

VOL. I.

THE DIARY, WITH INDEX.

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DIARY OF SIR WILLIAM HEDGES.

PREFACE.

The work now issued to the Society requires some prefatory explanation as to the manner in which it is presented, and some information also regarding the Diarist beyond what has been supplied in Mr. Barlow's "Introductory Notes":

A transcript of the Diary was brought to my notice some years ago by the Rev. James Long, to whom it had been lent by Mr. Barlow. How the Diary itself fell into this gentleman's hands may best be told by an extract from a letter with which he has favoured me:

"I was living near Broadstairs, and not unfrequently visited Canterbury. There was a bookseller in the High Street, named Bohn, from whom I had made purchases on one or two occasions, and on September 20th, 1875 (as I find from my log-book), in answer to my usual inquiry for old Voyages and Travels, he mentioned that he had an old manuscript which perhaps might interest me. A glance showed me that its author, William Hedges, must be the same gentleman whom Bence (*Annals of the E. I. Company*, ii, pp. 467-506) mentions as the first 'Gouvernor', as well as 'Agent', for the Bengal Factories. So I bought it at once.

"There was no mark, nor stamp, nor line of any description to indicate the previous owner, but I understood from Mr. Bohn, that he had it as part of a lot at a sale; and my impression is that he sold a sale of some things belonging to Lord Sondes¹—and this is all I know about the book's history. The condition proved that it had been very lightly esteemed. . . . I copied it carefully, and I think accurately, intending to get it printed. But I discovered that the half-dozen copies I intended to distribute among my few friends, an anonymous 'Illustration' of early trade under difficult circumstances, would cost nearly as much as an entire edition, whilst it would probably really not interest a single modern individual, so I gave up the idea. Mr. Long, however, happened to call one day, and thought with myself that it conveyed a good insight into the inner life and habits of some of the Honourable Company's servants, so I lent him the transcript."

¹ The fourth Baron Sondes died in 1874.

There can be little doubt, I think, that the document came originally from the India House, and possibly it formed an item among the papers which were carted away to be destroyed under a certain order issued by the Secretary of State in Council, at the time when the seat of that body was transferred from the old House in Leadenhall Street to Westminster. If so, it is probably not the first of the records then dealt with, perhaps too hastily, which our Society has made accessible to readers; for the quaint and curious Diary of Richard Cocks, of the English factory in Japan, which was so ably edited for us in 1883 by Mr. Edward Maunde Thompson of the British Museum, may likewise have been one of those unnaturalized exposed foundlings.¹

On a cursory reading of Mr. Barlow's transcript it seemed to me that, though not a document of very high value, its interest was great enough to render it worthy of being printed by our Society, and would be felt by a greater number of readers than its owner anticipated, especially as published information regarding

¹ Probably, however, the culpable disposal of the present document occurred at an earlier date; for further acquaintance with the old India records has made me aware of the vast mass of correspondence from India that had disappeared, apparently before the beginning of this century. With regard to the more recent destruction of documents it is recorded, on 13th May 1859, that the Committee of the India Office, dealing with such matters, had "reason to apprehend that official documents, sold as waste-paper for the purpose of remanufacture had, notwithstanding the engagement to the contrary entered into by the purchasers, been otherwise disposed of." And it was directed that in future an officer of the Record Department should witness the mutilation of the papers. In February 1860 it was directed by the Secretary of State in Council that all useless records at Cannon Row (Board of Control) and Leadenhall Street should be destroyed. It was determined that this destruction should embrace: (1) Duplicate records in the Registrar's Department; (2) Factory journals and ledgers from the three Presidencies, with the import and export warehouse books; (3) The proceedings of the Board of Trade (I do not know what these were); (4) Proceedings of the Medical Board; (5) The Draper accounts; (6) "Cutcherry and Admiralty Proceedings"; (7) Interest accounts, and current bills, with a number of miscellaneous books of account that were never balanced; (8) The Madras military disbursements, which had never been finalised (about thirty-five massive volumes each year). Also all transcripts of papers in "Mr. Hornidge's Department". It was estimated that the whole would amount to some 500 tons! But it did not eventually prove so much.

the early settlements of the Company in Bengal is scanty. The proposal to print it was accordingly adopted by the Council.

The *Diary* had been furnished by Mr. Barlow with the brief "Introductory Notes" (comprising also a Table of Contents) already alluded to, as well as with a few useful foot-notes,¹ and for the further necessary editing was placed in the hands of a gentleman who appeared to be interested in the subject. Nothing, however, came of this. The first sheet was printed off without my cognizance, or I should have suggested some modification of form. But in passing the rest of the work through the press nearly all the correction, with the insertion of necessary additional foot-notes, fell upon me. And eventually it became evident that whatever further editing the book required must also be provided by me, if the work was in any degree to assume such form as I deem necessary for the reputation of the Society over which I have the honour to preside. To complete such form an index was required, which I have supplied.

But it was obviously desirable also to obtain, if possible, more information regarding William Hedges and his connections than Mr. Barlow had found in Bruce's *Annals*. The search for this gradually led me to extend my researches in the MS. Records of the India Office, the British Museum, and elsewhere, till I found that a volume was growing under my hands. Much of this is in type, but there is much yet to complete; and some curious questions have suggested themselves which require a little time and further research to solve. It has been decided, therefore, to issue the *Diary* itself with Mr. Barlow's Introductory Notices, and my Index, as Vol. i, whilst Vol. ii will contain copious biographical and historical details regarding Hedges and most of the persons named in his *Diary*, compiled from the various sources indicated above, and will be separately indexed.

¹ Foot-notes at 27-32, 36-41, 60-61, 64, 67, 69, 90-100, 107, 133, 141, 158, 177, 180, 182, 194, 200 (note 2), and 259, were supplied by Mr. Barlow. For the remainder I am responsible.

Some of the corrections made now in the *Errata* ought properly to have been made in the correction of proofs. But when correcting the proofs I did not consider that the office of Editor had devolved on me, and had not made the researches which I have since undertaken.

I should add before closing this preface that, since the *Diary* was printed Mr. Barlow has liberally presented the original (much of which is in Hedges' holograph) to the India Office.

H. YULE.

i.e. from the beginning to July 3rd, 1882 (p. 28), and again from the words, "This Diary was thus far", etc. (p. 147), to the end. The intermediate portion is in the writing of copyists.

ERRATA.

1. In line 1, for Nathanael Letter, read Nathanael Letten; and my reference to p. 174 is wrong.

2. In line 2, for Richard Frenchfeild, read Richard Trenchfeild.

These two names had been misread by the transcriber of the copy for the press.)

3. In terminal note in parenthesis. The chief facts of Sir Wm. Hedges subsequent career will be given in Vol. ii, as well as those of his nephew Robert, who was the chairman of Council, and at a later date President, in Bengal.

4. In line 29, for Muvadavad, read Muxadavad.

5. In line 19, for Dustuchs, read Dustucks.

6. In line 8, for Kergavar, read Kengavar.

7. footnote is erroneous. President Beard who died at Madras was this John Bear's son, as will be detailed in Vol. II.

8. in footnote, for Masters, read Master.

9. second line from foot of note. Pyre should be Kyro or Kyres. See Vol. ii.

10. regarding Mr. Catchpoole's history see Vol. II.

11. line 20, purga or pyrga seems to represent a local Balasore term for a small boat or canoe.

12. note. "A generall" was an official letter usually signed by members of the local council.

13. line 10, for Emir Pussick, read Emir Tussuk, i.e. the Muzuk, "Master of the Ceremonies".

14. line 1, for Hohun, read Mohun.

15. line 26, for Impost, read Imprest.

16. line 8, for Lawdon, read Powdon.

Page 177, footnote is erroneous, as at p. 12, John Ward, senior, died at Hügli, Aug. 22, 1686.

" 220, line 1, for Spaha, read Spahan.

" 234, erase footnote. I see that in the original MS. the place is *Aintar*, i.e., *AINTAR*, on Hedges' route to Aleppo, about seventy miles from the latter place.

" 246, line 1, the original MS. reads *Wagmar*; in note, line 1, for *Thuse*, read *Jance*.

I. Y.

INTRODUCTORY NOTES AND TABLE OF CONTENTS

TO THE

DIARY OF SIR W. HEDGES.

BY MR. R. BARLOW.

IN attempting to explain the following *Diary* of Mr. (afterwards Sir William) Hedges, commencing Nov. 25, 1681, and terminating abruptly March 6, 1688, it may be desirable to quote Bruce as to the position Mr. Hedges occupied.¹

"1681-82.—The trade to Bengal, both in its origin and progress, had hitherto been subservient to that of the Coromandel Coast, and under the control of the Agent and Council of Fort St. George. This control, however, had been irregularly exercised, probably from the circumstance of the Agent at Hooghly, and not unfrequently at the lesser Factories, having an eventual title to succession, sometimes to the Government, and often to a seat in the Council of Fort St. George. It frequently occurred also that this control was evaded by the expectation of succeeding to the Government of the Fort, at which an opportunity would be given to justify proceedings improper in themselves, and sometimes the foundation of blame by the Court. These removals of Agents and Factors, managing the Company's interests on the coast or in Bengal, had produced irregularities, the last and most striking instance of which was the dismissal of Mr. Master at Fort St. George, and the confirmation of Mr. Job Charnock as Chief of Cossimbazar. It was the

determined, on taking into consideration the evils resulting from the dependency of the Bengal Factories on the Fort, to constitute the Agency at Hooghly a distinct and separate Factory from Fort St. George. But, in an affair of such importance, that they might act with certain knowledge, the Court appointed Mr. Hedges, a member of their Committee (or what in modern times would be termed a Director of the East India Company), with special powers, to be Agent and Governor of their affairs in the Bay of Bengal, and of the Factories subordinate to it, or Cossimbuzar, Patna, Balasore, Malda, and Dacca; and directed that the Stock of £230,000, appropriated for Bengal, should be distributed as follows: viz., £140,000 to be sent to Cossimbuzar; £14,500 to Patna; £32,000 to Balasore; £15,000 to Malda; £16,500 to Dacca; and £12,000 to remain at Hooghly. After specifying the Silks, Cloths, and other articles expected from each of these Factories to form the investment of the season, the Court repeated their orders against the Interlopers, and directed that a corporal of approved fidelity and courage, with twenty soldiers, should proceed from the Fort to be a guard to the Agent's person and the Factory of Hooghly, and to act against the Interlopers. Such was the foundation of the Company's government in Bengal, or what became, in the sequel, the centre of commerce, and the seat of government in British India."

"It appears⁶, [by letters from the Agent and Council at Hooghly, and the Agents at the subordinate Factories in Bengal, 27th May, 14th and 18th July, and Sept. 2, 1682] that Mr. Hedges the Director had arrived at Hooghly,¹ and intimated his commission and the new plan of commercial administration with which he was intrusted. But that he had found both Hooghly and the subordinate Factories disturbed by an order which had come from the Mogul for levying 3*4* per cent. Customs. The Agent
² He landed there July 24, 1682.

INTRODUCTORY.

Cossimbuzar, Baillasore, etc., were struggling to be exempted from this tax, and making such purchases as would meet the Company's orders."

It appears from Mr. Hedge's *Diary* that he decided to visit the then Nuwab, Shaista Khan, at Dacca, to obtain remission of this tax of 3½ per cent., and left Hooghly about Oct. 10, 1682, for this purpose, *via* Cossimbuzar, so as to consult with Mr. Charnock, the Agent there. He was politely received by the Nuwab on October 29, at Dacca, three days after his arrival, and it appears that the acquaintance he displayed with Turkish and Arabic made a favourable impression. He was accompanied by a Vakeel, James Price, to interpret apparently, but, completely failing to obtain any thing but conditional promises, left Dacca about December 15.

As early as Dec. 1, Mr. Hedges had listened to scandal—possibly true—as to Job Charnock's *moral* character, and every little trifle from this time seems to have embittered his dislike. A second visit to Cossimbuzar, April 15, 1683, brought about an open rupture; and Mr. Hedges, who could not understand the *suaviter in modo*, commenced with a *fortiter in re* examination into several discreditable abuses on the part of subordinates, and became unpopular, and worse. He was unquestionably a zealous and (peculiarly) honest man; but his dislike to Mr. Charnock became so notorious, that [April 26] even the native officials found their advantage in fomenting disputes, by which, of course, the Hon. Company were sufferers in the end, and themselves gainers; and after Oct. 12, 1683, the feud assumed a character of hopeless antagonism.

There is an hiatus in the Diary from Jan. 12, 1684, till July 2nd of that year, in consequence, it is stated, of his sending *this very diary home* by "y^e Herbert, Capt. Henry Udall" "to my brother Sambrooke"; and on July 17, Mr. Hedge

received private information, by a ship from Madras, that he had been dismissed by the Court.

1684.—In explanation of this dismissal, Bruce states:—

“As Mr. Hedges had been appointed by the Court to be Agent, with a Council, at Bengal, independently of any subordination to Fort St. George, it is material to look at the proceedings of this supervisor and at the effect of his measures on the sales and export from Madras, as well as on the general interests of both establishments.”

“It might have been expected that Mr. Hedges, from his former rank, would have been fully acquainted with the opinions of the Court, that an undue influence had been exercised by the Government of Madras over the agency in Bengal to favour the private trade of the Members, or that the Agents in Bengal, independently of this control, had taken advantage of the Company’s Stock, and employed it to promote their particular speculations; and, therefore, that he would have executed the trust reposed in him, or examined the sources of those evils, and acted on public grounds; but it appears that, instead of fulfilling the expectations entertained of his prudence and exertions, he had considered himself as the only person entrusted with the confidence of the Court: and in the application of this power had involved their affairs: for, by intercepting and opening letters from the Members of Council to Sir Josiah Child, the Governor or Chairman of the East India Company, he not only lost the confidence of the Court, but the opportunity of controlling their servants abroad—and, therefore, he was dismissed from the service.

“This circumstance induced the Court to recede from the plan of rendering Bengal independent of Fort St. George, and to appoint Mr. Gyfford, the Agent at the Fort, to be Agent at Bengal, with the title of President over both settlements.”

— Gyfford assumed formal charge at Hooghly Factory

Aug. 30, 1684, and certain entries in Mr. Hedges' Diary, under date Sep. 1, 1684, and Feb. 6, 1685, sufficiently prove that Mr. Bruce was correct as to the "opening letters".

Mr. Hedges remained at Hooghly, after his supersession, until Christmas 1684, when he somewhat precipitately quitted, and joined the *Recovery*, a barque which he had apparently chartered, and loaded for a voyage to Gombroon.

Accompanied by his nephew, Mr. Robert Hedges, Mr. Nathanael Letter, and Mr. Robert Dowglaſſe, "chirurgeon", Mr. Hedges left "Barnagore" on Dec. 31, 1684, reached Balasore Road, Jan. 10, 1685, receiving there a severe protest from Mr. John Beard, "Agent at Hooghly", for abducting a Mr. Gough from his duties, etc. The *Recovery* proceeded, however, the same night, and reached Madras Feb. 2. Mr. Gyfford happened to be in the Fort, and received Mr. Hedges politely with a "salute of 15 guns".

Leaving Madras Feb. 7, 1685, the *Recovery* had a tedious passage, and was in danger among the Maldivie Islands on March 6, 7, and 8. She reached Muscat April 29, and left for Gombroon May 15, 1685; did not, however, go there, because a squadron of seven or eight Dutch ships were in the Port. He steered for Cong, arriving there May 27, 1685; and here Mr. Hedges left to travel thence by Lar, Ispahan, Bagdat, Mosul, Diabekir, Aleppo, Iscandroon, Tunis, Sardinia, Toulon, Paris, and Calais, to Dover, arriving at the latter port on April 4, 1687, after a journey of two years and three months from Bengal. The actual time Mr. Hedges held office in Bengal was:—

From July 21, 1682

Till August 30, 1684

2 years 1 month.

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Mr. Richards, Chief of Balasore, died Feb. 2.		
, left St. Jago		March 4
, off Cape Agulhas		May 25
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, sighted Ceylon	July 7	
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Charnock	," 19	
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Is informed of the Nuwab's indifference to the Company's		
trade	Dec. 7	
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		1683.
Left Hooghly for Balasore to "despatch" the ships home	Jan. 22	
N.B.—There seem at this time to have been 7 Sloops, used		
as occasion required, for Cargo, Passage, or Piloting.		
<i>Goodhope</i> George Heron, master.		
<i>adapollain</i> John Hampton.		
<i>rrivall</i>		
<i>homas</i> Mr. How, Mr. Scott (April 4, 1683)		
<i>angry</i>		
<i>illy</i> afterward Lost on Balasore bar,		
June 24, 1683.		
Mr. Hedges dispatched the <i>Defence</i> , Capt. Heath, from		
Balasore	Jan. 24	
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Mr. Francis Ellis (evidently readmitted to the Service and
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Some Remarks on Mr. Beard

President Gyfford annoyed by some Dutch Ships at
Hooghly enquiring of Capt. Richardson and his
soldiers, when passing in a boat "If they were
going to Bantam?"¹

Mr. Hedges' private opinion of President Gyfford

A singular statement about Saugor Island and Kedgeroo

All hope of avoiding payment of the 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. abandoned

Mr. Hedges requests the Dutch Governor to grant him a
Pilot to conduct his ship, through the New Deeps by
the Island of Saugor, to see

Mr. Hedges learns that the Nuwab requires himself or Mr.
Beard to come before him—on the Haggerston com-
plaint

See July 21, 1684.

Mr. Hedges quits Hooghly and goes on board Recovery, the
ship he had chartered for Persia—at Barnagore

Calls on the Dutch Padre for his interest to procure a
Dutch flag to fly in his Budgero. The Dutch
"Directors" decline to permit such an innovation

The Recovery drops down to Great Tannah

1684.

Nov. 6

" 11

" 18

" 19

" 24

" 25

" 26

Dec. 6

" 28

" 9

" 8

" 15

" 23

" 28

" 25

" 26

" 26

1685.

Jan. 8

" 10

Reached Hidjellee

Rows in the Budgero round the "Island" of Kedgeroo.

Recovery anchors off the Braco, and presents Mr. George
Heron with 50 Rupees for piloting service.

Sailed into Balasore Roads, and received cargo

¹ The English were expelled from Bantam by the Dutch on June 1682.

CONTENTS.

11

A protest, received from Mr. Beard, for taking R. Gough away, unnoticed. Vessel leaves the road at midnight
Recovery falls to leeward off Madras, and anchors off St. Thomas

Hedges politely received by Mr. President Gifford with 16 Guna.

Recovery leaves Madras for Muscat and Gombroon

Mr. Hedges recapitulates his grievances (52 letters seized).

Meets *Syam Merchant* with 106 passengers for Gombroon (off Comorin)

In a difficulty among the Maldives (about Lat. 6° 40' N.)

Anchor to the westward of one for the night

Observations on Interlopers and those who are friendly

Allowance of water reduced to 3 pints. Sun vertical

Imaginary discovery of a plot

Sight Miserie (Mocirah) Island

Anchor at Muscat (and remained 15 days)

Mention made of Sir Thomas Grantham.

Left Muscat and waited for the *Welcome* to tranship goods for Bussora

Passed Gombroon, and proceeded to Cong.

Mr. Hedges ill there nearly 2 months (hitherto).

Sets out for Lar in a litter, July 29. Arrives there

Castle at Lar described shortly as 126 miles from Gombroon

Some brass Portuguese guns there, one 94-inch bore, dated 1618.

Leave Lar for Ispahan, *via* Shiraz

Reach Shiraz (192 miles from Lar), and remain 6 days

Pass over a bridge of four arches at Zuegoon

Visit Chil-Minar (Persepolis).

Enter Ispahan (219 miles from Shiraz)

Entertained by Mr. D. Edwards, "Chief of ye Hon. Comp. Persian affairs"

Engaged a house at Jalsa in the suburbs, for warehouse, etc.

Visited by the King of "Swedeland's" envoy, and by the Dutch do.

Has the honour of a gentle nod from the Shah

Visited by the Pope's Nuncio, and visited the King of Poland's Ambassador

M. Varino, a French watchmaker, in the character of a Guide

Do. do.

1685.

Jan. 10

Feb. 2

March 6

" 9

Ap. 6

" 7

" 12

" 23

" 29

May 15

" 27

Aug. 5

" 11

" 18

" 25

" 29

Sept. 9

" 9

" 11

" 18

" 30

Oct. 30

Nov. 6

		1685.
Mr. Hedges hires 125 camels and 18 Mules		Dec. 1
In comp. with his Nephew, Mr. Douglas, and Mr. Letter, starts from Ispahan		" 13
Compelled to remain two days at Cogga, because a camel broke its leg		" 20
		1686.
A sick camel driver supposed to be frozen to death at Feraspa	Jan. 5	
A Robbery of silk and money at Kergauar	" 6	
Detained at Kirmansha for Duties, etc.	Jan. 11 to 22	
Bread of barley and acorns at Aslan Chesmesi	Jan. 30	
Much snow, succeeded by torrents of rain, at Chamsura	Feb. 10	
In danger of losing goods, and lies in the gullies.		
Reach Bagdad after 71 days from Ispahan ¹	" 21	
Takes a house, and receives a Phirnaund to be treated with respect	" 23	
Heavy custom duties, and reflections.		
Curious arrangements for the journey to Aleppo.		
Remain at Bagdad 50 days, till	April 11	
Visit the Birs el Ninrood	" 14	
Engage Usier-Beg, for 550 dollars, to supply 50 horsemen as a guard as far as Mosul	" 19	
Pitched near the Zab	" 28	
Arrive at Mosul (about 195 Geog. miles N., 18° W. from Bagdad)	" 33	
Cousin Letter leaves on a raft on the Tigris for Bagdad (Stay at Mosul 25 days)	May 12	
Leaves Mosul and ferries over the Tigris <i>en route</i> to Diarbekir		
Description of Givra	" 26	
The Pasha of Kirkooke	June 3	
Extortion of Mehmet Usier ²	" 10	
Reach Diarbekir (about 176 Geog. miles from Mosul)	" 13	
Remained 16 days.	" 19	
Theft and Justice	July 2	
Leaves Diarbekir for Aleppo (51° W., dist. 159 G. miles)	" 6	
Severe illness on the road, and remedy	" 11	
Reach Aleppo (just 12 miles from Cong)	" 29	
(Remained in extreme ill health 84 days.)		
Quits Aleppo for Scanderoon (N. 67°, W. 53 Geog. miles)	Oct. 20	

¹ Distance not stated; it is about 380 geographical miles as the crow flies.

CONTENTS.

	1686.
Leaves Scanderoon, with Nephew Hedges, in a French " Provincial" ship for Marseilles	Nov. 6
Touches at "Solinus" (Cyprus)	" 9
Left Cyprus	" 18
Gale off Candia	Dec. 7
Pass on eastern side of Sardinia	" 19
Abreast of Corsica, and run South in a Northerly gale	" 21
Take refuge in Tunis Bay	" 24
Leave and put back again. Kindnesses.	
	1687.
Quit Tunis finally	Jan. 16
Anchored for refuge in Palma de Sol (Sardinia, West side)	" 17
Left and returned three times.	
Hard gale—drove—so cut away mainmast	" 28
Resigned passage, and embarked in a Settee	" 31
An occurrence at St. Pietro, and at Orestano (Sardinia)	Feb. 1
Reached Toulon (and went into Quarantine)	" 9
Released, and arrived at Marseilles	" 20
Set out for Lyons Feb. 28, arrived	March 6
Reached Paris March 13, and left	" 26
Reached "Caen" March 29, and embarked for Dover 2 P.M.	Ap. 8
Landed at Dover	1 A.M.
Interview with Lord High Chancellor Jefferys	" 4
Married	" 7
	July 21
	1688.
Knighted	March 6

(Subsequent career unknown; but a Mr. Hedges, possibly the nephew Robert, was Chairman of the "English" Company, or President on alternate weeks with Mr. Halsey, of the "London" Company. See Bruce, vol. iii, 50.)

A Journall kept by WILLIAM HEDGES from
y^e day of his receiving a Comission from y^e Right
Worpth y^e Gov^r, Dep^{ty}, and Committees of y^e Hon^{ble}.
English East Indias Comp^y to be their Agent
and Gov^r for their affaires in y^e Bay of
Bengall and in the East Indies.

Viz.

THE LOG TO BENGAL.

1681.

November 25, 1681, my commission was given to me, by y^e Right
Worpth S^r Josia Child, Bar^t, being then Gov^r, and Thomas Papillon,
Esq^r, Deputy.

Nov. 30.—Departed from Londen towards Deal.

Dec. 2.—Arrived at Deal.

Dec. 8.—The *Defense*, Capt. W^r Heath, Comand^t, on whom I was
ordered by y^e Hon^{ble} Comp^y to take my passage, with my wife and
family, arrived in y^e Downes, whereof I gave y^e Comp^y notice by letter
from my selfe and M^r John Beard. The same night I rec^d the Company's
dispatches to me by M^r Zinzau.

Dec. 19.—The *Resolution*, Capt. Francis Wilshaw, Comand^t, arrived
in the Downes.

1682. Jan. 4.—The shippe *Expectation*, Capt. Ally, Comand^t, an
Interloper, arrived in y^e Downes from Porto Novo.

Jan. 13.—The *Eagle*, *President*, and *Berkeley Castle* arrived in y^e
Downes from y^e Coast and y^e Bay of Bengall. The *Society*, *Persia Mer-*
chant, and *Berwickston* from Bantam.

Jan. 28.—The *Resolution* and *Adventure*, about 4 o'clock in y^e afternoon
sailed out of y^e Downes with a fair wind.

Jan. 29.—About 2 in y^e afternoon, we came up with y^e Isle of Wight.

Jan. 30.—By 12 o'clock at noon we got up with y^e Lizard. The Gale
continuting to freshen, we ran 9 knots.

Feb. 2.—It pleased God to take out of this world M^r John Richards, appointed Chief of Balasore.

Feb. 3.—By observation were in y^r Latitude of 42 Degrees.

Feb. 6.—This day little wind. By observation were in y^r Lat. of 39 $\frac{1}{2}$.

Feb. 8.—Were in Lat^u of 38° 30' by observation.

Feb. 10.—We had a good observation, and were in y^r Lat^u of 35° 40'.

Feb. 11 and 12.—Calme.

Feb. 13.—We were in y^r Lat^u of 33 $\frac{1}{2}$, but saw neither Porto Santo nor y^r Madera Islands.

Feb. 14.—Lay becalm'd.

Feb. 15.—We were in y^r Lat^u of 31°.

Feb. 16.—We saw y^r Pike of Teneriffe.

Feb. 18.—We gott up with y^r Island of Teneriffe.

Feb. 20.—Little wind, but were gott into y^r Lat^u of 26° 80' N.

Feb. 21.—The wind began to freshen at N.E. and N.E. and b N.

Feb. 22.—From yesterday noon to this day noon we had a fine fresh gale at N.W.; by our log we had run 117 miles. Our course S.W. and by S. and were in y^r Lat. of 24° N. This afternoon, the gale freshening at N.N.W., we steered S.S.W., and by 8 o'clock this night judged ourselves within y^r Tropic of Cancer.

Feb. 23.—These 24 hours y^r gale continued fresh. By y^r log we ran 158 miles; our course S.S.W. The wind at N.E. and N.N.E., our Lat^u 21° 30' N.

Feb. 24.—These 24 hours a fresh gale. Have run by our Log 165 miles, our course S.S.W.; wind N.E. and N.E. by E., Lat^u by observation, 18° 50' N.

Feb. 25.—These 24 hours y^r gale continued. Have run 163 miles, our course S. b W., and y^r wind N.E. b E., Lat^u by observation, 16° 14' N.

Feb. 26.—We saw y^r Isle of May [Mayo], being in y^r Lat. of 15° 7' N.

Feb. 27.—By 7 o'clock in y^r morning it pleased God to bring us in safety to S^t Jago, being y^r thirteenth day since we came out of y^r Downes. Here we met with y^r Barbadoes Merchant, a small vessel of Plymouth, James Cock, Master, bound for Barbadoes laden with Salt, mules, and Africos, bought at y^r Isle of "May", by whom we wrote the following letter to y^r Honorable Compy, viz.:—

"From above,

" May it please your Honors,—

" On y^r 28 Ult^r this shippe and y^r Barbadoes Merchant, bound for Barbadoes, with a fair wind, wth continued on y^r course, at 12 M^r on the 30th by Noon we were up with the Lizard, and at 2 P^m the same day it pleased God to take to himselfe M^r John Richards, the

his foot in his cabin 3 nights before, which we apprehend (by y^r great effusion of blood out of his mouth and nose before he died) broke something within him. God prepare us all for y^r like change!

"The Wind continuing still in our favour, on y^r 3rd Instant we gott into y^r Latitude of 42°. On y^r 18th Dettō we were in 38 $\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, but so far to y^r Eastward of Porto Santo and y^r Madera Islands, that we saw them not. Here we were so troubled with calmes and contrary winds, y^r it was y^r 18th Dettō before we came up with Teneriffe; and this morning (God be praised) both our Shippes and men arrived here in safety, all in good health, with y^r losse, only of one of y^r *Resolution's* sailors, Thomas Coops, who dyed the 16th Instant.

"In Port we mett y^r *Barbadoes Merchant*, a small Shippe of Plymouth, James Cock, Master, bound this night for Barbadoes, by whom this is intended. After us, this morning, came in a small Dutoh Shippe, bound for Sarauam, who shall carry its duplicate. Our business here being only to water and recruit ourselves with fresh provisions, we shall hasten its despatch (what possibly we can) to proceed on our Voyage with all expedition, which we pray God may have an end no leſſe prosperous and gracefull than it has a beginning.

"These 2 Shippes sail so much alike y^r we cannot say which sails best. We designe, God willing, to goe *Without* Madagascar.

"This being all that has happened to us remarkable in this voyage, we com'it you, your affaires, and ourselves to y^r Divine Protection, resolving always to approve ourselves,

"Your Honors'

"Most humble, faithfull, and obedient Servants,

"FRAN^{CE} WILSHAW.

WM. HEDGES.

"WM. HEATH.

JOHN BEARD."

March 4.—This morning, between 10 and 11 o'clock (having supplyed ourselves wth water and fresh provision), we sett sail from S^t. Jago.

March 5.—From y^r time of our departure yesterday from S^t. Jago to 12 o'clock this day, we have run, by our log, 107 miles; our course S.E. by S.; the wind at N.E.; our latitude, by observation, 12° 38' N.

March 6.—These 24 hours fair weather and fine fresh gale. Run 120 miles, course S.E. b. S.; wind, N.E.; latitude by observation, 10° 56' N.

March 7.—These 24 hours fair weather, a gentle gale. Run 93 miles, course S.E. b. S., wind N.E., latitude, by observation, 9° 30' N.

March 8.—These 21 hours fair weather, gentle gale. Run 88 miles; course S.E. b. S.; wind N.E.; latitude observed, 8° 18' N.

¹ John Beard. Mr. Beard, after a service in India of twenty-four years, d^{ied} at Madras July 7, 1706.—See Bruce, *Annals*, vol. ii.

March 9.—These 24 hours fair weather, little wind. Run 67 miles; course S.E. b. S.; wind, N.E.; latitude per observⁿ, 7° 12' N.

March 10.—These 24 hours fair weather, little wind, much lightning in y^r morning. Run about 53 miles; course S.E. b. S.; wind N.N.W.; latitude 6° 81' N.

March 11.—These 24 hours fair weather, little wind, much lightning in y^r night. Run 85 miles; course S.E. b. S.; wind N.N.W.; Lat. 6° 0' N.

March 12.—These 24 hours most part calme, much thunder and lightning in y^r night, with divers showers of rain.

March 13.—These 24 hours very little wind, some smart showers of raine. Run these two days but 27 miles; course and wind various; latⁿ 5° 9' N.

March 14.—These 24 hours little wind, much thunder and lightning, with great showers of raine. Run 41 miles; course S.E. b. S.; wind N.N.W., 4° 37' N.

March 15.—These 24 hours fair weather, little wind. Run 39 miles, course S.E. b. S.; wind S.W. and S.S.W.; lat. 4° 5' N.

March 16.—These 24 hours fair weather, very little wind. Run 26 miles; course and wind very variable; the sun, so near our zenith, could take no observation; latitude, by estimation, 3° 48' N.

March 17.—These 24 hours fair weather, little wind. Run 22 miles; course S.E. b. E. and S.S.E.; wind variable; latitude, by account, 3° 38' N.

March 18.—These 24 hours fair weather, a pretty fresh gale, but directly contrary. Run 57 miles; course W. b. S. to S.E.; wind variable; by calculation we have gott but 22 miles to the S^r; lat, by judgemⁿ, 3° 16' N. The Sun being this day in our Zenith.

March 19.—These 24 hours much rain, with some gusts in y^r night, but a smooth sea. Run 64 miles; divers courses from S.E. to E.S.E.; the wind variable from S.W. to S.S.W.; lat., by accⁿ, 2° 47' N.

March 20.—These 24 hours much rain and great gusts—soon over. Run 59 miles; course from S.E. b. E. to S. b. W.; wind variable; lat, by Judgemⁿ, 2° 3' N.

March 21.—These 24 hours fair weather, fine gale and a smooth sea. Run 68 miles; course from S. to E.S.E.; wind variable. Latitude, by account, 1° 18' N.

March 22.—These 24 hours fair weather, little wind. Run 80 miles, course E.S.E.; wind at south; lat., by judgement, 1° 5' N.

March 23.—These 24 hours fair weather, little wind. Run 45 miles; course from E.S.E. to W.S.W.; wind S. and S.S.W.; latitude, by observation, 1° 16' N.

This being the first day we could observe since the 15th instant, by which we find ourselv^es mistaken in our account 11 minute; besides what we have gained to y^r southward since yesterday noon.

March 24.—These 24 hours fair weather, smooth sea, and fine fresh breeze. Run 83 miles; course from S.W. to W.S.W.; wind S. and S.S.E.; lat. obs^o, 0° 40' N.

March 25.—These 24 hours, fair weather and fine fresh gale, and moderate heat. Run 110 miles; course from S.W. b. W. to S.W.; wind S. b. E. and S.S.E. By observation we find ourselves just under y^o Equinoctial Line at noon, the Sun's Declination being 5° 57'. Our Meridian Distance from y^o Lizard, 6° 38' to y^o westward; and from S^o Jago, the place of our last departure, 6° 32' to the eastward, where we crossed the Line.

March 26.—These 24 hours fair weather, smooth water, and fine fresh gale. Run 72 miles; course S.W. b. S. and S.W.; wind S. b. E. to S.S.E.; lat., by obs^o, 0° 36' to y^o southward.

March 27.—These 24 hours fair weather, little wind. Run 56 miles; course from S.S.W. to W.S.W.; wind from S.S.E. to S.; lat^o, by observation, 0° 45' S.

March 28.—These 24 hours quite calme.

March 29.—These 24 hours quite calme. We putt out our boat, and found we had a current, which sett us near two miles an hour to the westward, so that these 2 days past we may reasonably believe ourselves about 90 miles farther to y^o Westward than we expected.

March 30.—These 24 hours calme. Run, by y^o log, but 9 miles; course S.W.; wind S.E. b. S.; latitude, by observation, but 51 minutes S.

March 31.—These 24 hours fair weather, a fine fresh gale. Run 65 miles; course S.S.W. and S.W. b. S.; wind S.E.; lat. 1° 39' S.

April 1.—These 24 hours fair weather and a fresh gale. Run 97 miles; course S.S.W. and S.W. b. S.; wind S.E. and S.S.E.; latitude, per obs^o, 2° 43' S.

April 2.—These 24 hours fair weather, little wind. Run 61 miles; course S.S.W. and S.W. b. S.; wind S.E. and S.S.E.; lat^o, by judgement, 3° 28'. Weather being cloudy, could take no obs.

April 3.—These 24 hours fair weather and a fresh gale. Run 102 miles; course S.S.W.; wind S.E.; lat. 5° 18' S.

April 4.—These 24 hours fair weather and a very fresh gale. Run 192 miles; course S.S.W. and S.W. by S.; wind S.E.; latitude 7° 1' S.

April 5.—These 24 hours fair weather and a fresh gale. Run 120 miles; course S. and S. b. W.; wind E.S.E. and S.E. b. E.; lat. 8° 49' S.

April 6.—These 24 hours a fine fresh gale. Run 90 miles; course South and S. b. E.; wind E. b. S. and E.S.E.; latitude 10° 9' S.

April 7.—These 24 hours fair weather and a fine gale. Run 65 miles; course S., S. b. E., and S.E. b. S.; wind E.S.E., E. b. S., and East. No obs, but, by account, lat. 11° 31' S.

April 8.—These 24 hours fair weather and a fresh gale. Run 112 miles; course S.S.E.; wind E.N.E.; latitude, 13° 3' S.

April 9.—These 24 hours fair weather, little wind. Run 73 miles; course S.E. b. S.; wind E.N.E. and E. by N.; lat. 14° 10' S.

April 10.—These 24 hours fair weather, little wind. Run 74 miles; course S.E. b. S.; wind E.N.E. and N.E.; lat. 15° 12' S.

April 11.—From yesterday noon to this day noon fair weather, little wind. Run 59 miles; course S.E. b. S.; wind N.E. b. E.; latitude 16° 2' S.

April 12.—These 24 hours fair weather but very little wind. Run 28 miles; course S.E. b. S.; wind E.N.E. and N.E.; lat. 16° 26' S.

April 13.—These 24 hours fair weather but very little wind. Run 30 miles; course S.E. b. S.; wind (as seldom seen in these parts) at North and N. b. W.; lat. 16° 59' S.

April 14.—These 24 hours fair weather and a fine gale. Run 95 miles; course S.E.; wind N.W.; latitude 18° 5' S.

April 15.—From yesterday noon till 8 o'clock this morning fair weather and a fresh gale—having then much rain and gusty weather; and being in y^r latitude of Saint Martin de Vaz and two other Islands, we lay by till 5 in y^r morning, at which time we made sail, but saw no land. Run 116 miles; course S.E. b. E.; wind N.W.; latitude 19° 41' S.

April 16.—These 24 hours very little wind. Run but 23 miles; course S. b. E. and S.S.E.; wind N.W. b. N. and S.W.; lat., by judgin', 19° 41, (?) weather cloudy these 2 days past; had no observation.

April 17.—These 24 hours fair weather and little wind. Run 50 miles; course from y^r S.S.W. to S.W. b. W.; wind from S.E. to S.S.E.; latitude, by observation, 20° 27' S.

This morning we saw a sail about 4 leagues to leeward of us; about 5 in y^r afternoone we spake with her. She proved to be the *Croune*, Cap^t Dorrel com^t, an interloper. She wanted [was less than] 2 months from England. Came not through y^r Downes, but went on the Back-side of y^r Goodwin Sands. They told us plainly they were bound for Hugley. M^r Pitts and two or three passengers more were aboard of her. After saluting each other, we all made y^r best of our way, but, she sailing best, was almost out of sight next morning.¹

April 18.—These 24 hours fair weather, with a fine fresh gale. Run 103 miles; course from S. b. W. to S.W. b. S.; wind from E.S.E. to S.E. b. S.; latitude, by judg'mt, 21° 37' S.

This afternoon, at 4 o'clock, Capt^t Wilshaw, sailing better than our shippe, desired to part company, and tooke his leave of us, making y^r best of his way after y^r Interloper.

¹ "Martin Vaz" is in long. about 28° 51' W., lat. about 10° 28' S.—R. F. R.

² See Bruce, vol. ii, p. 466.

April 19.—These 24 hours fair weather—a gentle gale. Run 50 miles; course S. b. W. to S.S.W.; wind from y^r S.E. b. E. to E.S.E.; latitude, by judgement, 22° 50' S.

April 20.—These 24 hours fair weather and little wind. Run 45 miles; course S. b. W.; wind S.E. b. E.; lat. 23° 31', by which account we are past y^r Tropic of Capricorne.

April 21.—These 24 hours fair weather and a fine gale. Run 41 miles; course from y^r S. to y^r S.S.E. and S.W.; wind variable from W. to S.S.E.; lat 24° 18' S. Capt^r Wilshaw still in sight.

April 22.—These 24 hours fair weather, very little wind, but a good rolling sea. Run 38 miles; course S.S.W. and S.W. b. S.; wind S.S.E. and S.E. b. S.; lat. 24° 32' S. Capt^r Wilshaw in sight.

April 23.—These 24 hours fair weather and very little wind. Have run but 19 miles; course from E.S.E. to S.S.E., wind from S. to W.; latitude 24° 47' S.

April 24.—These 24 hours fair weather—a small gale. Run 65 miles; wind W. and W.N.W.; lat. 25° 50' S.

April 25.—These 24 hours gusty foul weather, with much rain and lightning. Run 123 miles; course S.S.E. and S.E.; wind from W.N.W. to S. b. W.; lat. 27° 18' S. This morning our main top gallant mast broke. Capt^r Wilshaw not above 3 leagues ahead of us.

April 26.—These 24 hours gusty weather, with showers of rain. Run 79 miles; course E.S.E. and S.E. b. E.; wind S. W. b. S. to W.; lat. 27° 56' S.

April 27.—These 24 hours a fresh gale, with great gusts of wind and showers of rain. Run 130 miles; course S.E. b. E.; wind from S.W. b. S. to W.; lat. 29° 14' S.

April 28.—These 24 hours wind continuing very fresh, with some violent gusts and showers of rain. We have run 165 miles; course S.E. b. E.; wind W. to W.S.W.; lat. 30° 53' S.

April 29.—These 24 hours it blew for the most part very fresh. Run 150 miles; course S.E. b. E.; wind N.W. b. W.; latitude, by judgment, 32° 32' S.

April 30.—These 24 hours it hath blowen very fresh, with great gusts and showers of rain. We have run 185 miles; course E.S.E.; wind N.W. to W.; lat., by judg^r, 33° 57' S.

May 1.—These 24 hours it hath blowen very hard. Yesterday in y^r afternoon we ran 11 knotts 6 fathom, with our top gallant sail standing, which were as sooner taken in but our fore topmast broke, and y^r storme increased to y^r violence, that till midnight we could carry no more sail than our fore course and sprit-sail: the wind being then something abated, we sett our main sail and main-top-sail, and have run 180 miles: course E. b. S. and E.S.E.; wind W. to W. b. S.; lat., by obs., 34° 16' S. We judge y^r aire here as sharpe and cold as it is at any time in y^r mouth of March in England.

May 2.—These 24 hours we have had a fine moderate gale, and have run 120 miles; course E. b. S. and E.S.E.; wind S.S.W. to S.W.; lat. 34° 31'. (This last night we gott up our new fore-top-mast, and east y' sail.)

May 3.—These 24 hours fair weather and a gentle gale. Distance run 109 miles; course E.S.E.; wind W.S.W.; lat., by judg^m, 35° 12'. Our long^d from Lizard is 20° to y' W^o of y' cape.

May 4.—From 12 o'clock yesterday till 5. in y' afternoon was quite calme, and then it began to rain most violently as it hath still continued with little or no intermission till this day noon, always blowing so hard that we could carry no more sail than our two courses. This is y' greatest storme we have had (God be praised for it) since we left y' Downes. Wind at S. b. E. and S.S.E.; course E. and E. b. N. We judge the violence of this storme has driven us back 15 or 20 miles to y' Northward; lat., by judg^m, is 34° 59'. Distance run 35 miles.

May 5.—From yesterday noon till towards midnight it continued raining exceeding hard, but y' storme nothing abated till 8 o'clock this morning, since which time we have carryed our fore-top-sail, halfe mast high. We have run 90 miles; course E. b. N. to N.E. b. E.; wind S.E. b. E. to S.S.E.; latitude 34° 37' S.

May 6.—These 24 hours it hath blowen very hard, without rain. We have run 75 miles; course from S.S.W. to S.S.E.; wind S.E. to E.; lat., by judgment, 35° 15' S.

May 7.—These 24 hours y' storme hath continued so violent that we lay under a main-course till 8 o'clock this morning, since which we have sett our other two courses: the wind still blowing very hard, with drizzling rain. We have run 54 miles; course E.S.E. and E. b. S.; wind at N.E. and N.E. b. N.; lat., by judgment, 36° 14' S.

May 8.—These 24 hours we have had more rain than wind. Distance run but 68 miles; course E. b. S. and E. b. N.; wind N.N.E. to N.E. b. N.; lat., by judgment, 36° 28' S.

May 9.—These 24 hours have had but little wind, except what came in gusts, with lightning and rain. Distance run 44 miles; course E. b. S. to E. b. N.; wind N.N.E. to N.N.W.; lat., by judgement (having seen no sun for obs. since y' 2nd instant), 36° 40' S.

May 10.—These 24 hours we have had very tempestuous and gusty weather. Distance run is 72 miles; course from E.N.E. to N.E. b. E.; wind from E. to S.E.; latitude, by judgement, 36° 1' S.

May 11.—These 24 hours the storme has increased to that violence, y' for the most part we have layen a-try, with a main-sail and mizen only abrowd; y' sea being exceeding great, so y' we continue still driving to y' northward. Our distance run is 32 miles; course E. b. N. and E.N.E.; wind S.E. b. S. and S.E.; lat., by judgement, 36° 21' S.

May 12.—From yesterday noon to 8 o'clock this morning (y' storme,

increasing) we lay under a main-course, and since have sett our main-sail [fore sail?] and main. Distance run is 19 miles; course E. and E. S. S.; wind S. b. E.; lat., by acc^m, 34° 52' S.

May 13.—These 24 hours we have had little wind, with a great rolling sea. Distance run 47 miles; course E. b. N.; wind S.S.E.; latitude, by observation, 34° 42' S.; so since y^r 9th instant we have been driven back two degrees (except 2 minutes) to the northward.

May 14.—These 24 hours we have had very little wind. Distance run 83 miles; y^r course E.S.E.; wind W. and S.W.; latitude 34° 44' S.

May 15.—Yesterday about 5 in y^r afternoon a fresh gale sprung up at S.W., and continued freshening to y^r degree that, between 4 and 5 this morning, it broke our main top-mast. This is y^r second top-mast we have lost in a fortnight's time, besides 2 top-gallant masts. Our dist. run is 130; course E.S.E.; wind S.W. b. S. to S.W.; lat^m, by observation, 35° 10' S.

May 16.—These 24 hours y^r gale being fresh we have run 146 miles; course E. b. S. to E.S.E.; latitude, by judg., 35° 15' S. About 12 last night we gott up our main top-mast, and sett its sail.

May 17.—A small gale. Run 79 miles; course E. to E.N.E.; wind S.S.E. to S.E.; lat., by account, 35° 40' S.

May 18.—These 24 hours for y^r most part a small gale, but accompanied by great and sudden gusts and darke cloudy weather. Run 88 miles; course E. b. N to E. S. E.; wind S. E. b. S. to S.; lat. obs. 34° 23'.

May 19.—These 24 hours it hath blowne exceeding hard, especially since morning, being able to carry no more sail than our courses, which hath driven us considerably to y^r northward. We esteem ourselves here within 100 leagues of y^r Cape; at this time of y^r yeare it is counted strange not to have a fair wind to weather it, but such is our misfortune to have had more calmes and contrary winds (since we left St. Jago) than has been known by our most experienced marinern. Our dist. run is 108 miles; course E. to E.S.E.; wind S.S.E. to S.; lat., by observation, 34° 7' S.

May 20.—These 24 hours y^r wind still blowing contrary & very great gale at S.E. b. E., course S. b. W. Dist. run 60 miles; lat., by obs. 34° 5'; variation of y^r compass this morning being 8° 40' ¹ going S. b. W. 8 points leeway to W², yet they imagine from the Mag. var. they are 60 leagues to S.: we judge ourselves about 40 or 50 leagues to y^r westward of y^r Cape.³

¹ Note.—Variation 8° 40'. It does not appear whether East or West, probably Westerly, because in Sir Thomas Roe's Journal (1615) it was 8° E. It is now about 28° West.

² Mag. Var.—In vol. iii of Astley's *Voyages* (Lond., 1746), p. 326, it

May 21.—Gale moderate. Run 74 miles; course S. b. W. and S.S.W.; wind S.E. and S.E. b. E.; lat., by obs^o, 35° 0' South.

May 22.—From 6 o'clock yesterday afternoone it hath blowne hard and made a great sea. Our dist. run is 89 miles; course E. and E. b. N.; wind S.S.E. and S.E. b. S. lat.; by obs^o, 34° 16' S.; so that in these 24 hours past we have been driven back 44 miles to y' northward. 'Tis bad plying to windward when y' sea runs very high, and y' wind blows so hard, that the topsail can hardly be carried up half y' mast.

May 23.—These 24 hours we have had a constant fresh gale. Run 84 miles; course S. and S.S.W.; wind E.S.E. to S.E.; lat., by obs^o, 34° 45' S.; so that notwithstanding y' distance run of 84 miles, y' sea and current are both so forcible against us, that we have gott but 32 miles these 24 hours, to the southward.

May 24.—These 24 hours the gale has been moderate; this morning it sprung up fair at N.N.E. Our distance run is 65 miles; course S. to E. b. S.; wind E.S.E. to N.E. b. N.; lat., obs^o, 35° 56' S.

May 25.—From 10 last night till noon this day it hath blowne exceeding fresh. Our dist. run 129 miles; course E. to E.N.E.; wind N. b. E. to N.N.W.; lat., by obs^o, 35° 81' S. Having this day seen many sea-weeds, a seal (?), and some such birds as appear only about y' Cape, at 4 o'clock this afternoon we hoisted out our boat, and casting y' lead, struck ground at 49 Fathom depth, which by y' tallow was white, and hard as chalk. We judge Cape de Agulhas bears North, at 40 miles distant. Blessed be God we are come thus far on our voyage in perfect health and safety, not having lost a man (except Mr. Richards), either by sickness or any other accident, since we left England, which wants but 8 days of 4 months, and is just 2 months this day since we passed y' Equinoctial Line.

May 26.—These 24 hours it has blowne very hard; at 7 o'clock this morning we sounded again and struck ground (of a whitish sand) at 90 fathom. Distance run 169 m.; course E. b. N., E. b. S. and E. S.E.; wind from N.N.W. to y' W.; lat., by obs^o, 35° 20' S.

May 27.—Gale continued very fresh. Run 156 miles; course E.S.E.; wind W.N.W.; lat. obs^o 35° 59' S.

May 28.—These 24 hours it has blowne exceeding fresh, with very great sea. Our distance run is 149 miles; course E.S.E., wind W.N.W.; lat. obs^o 36° 18' S.; 4 months since we left the Downes this day.

scriptive of the Cape of Good Hope, "the declination of the needle has much varied here. According to authors it was 6 degrees N.E. about a century ago. The Missioners, in 1685, found it to be 0° 11' 30" N.W. Mr. Kolben, in 1705, observed it (0° 11' 55") the same way." The Admiralty Chart of 1867, corrected to 1879, makes the variation 30° 9' W. (increasing 0° 1' 30" annually).

May 29.—These 24 hours it has blown very hard, and from 6 o'clock last night to 8 this morning it has blowne a storme. Run 107 miles; course E.S.E.; wind N.W. and to y' N'; lat., by obs', 36° 57' S.

May 30.—Very gusty weather, with a great sea. Dist. 162 miles; course E.S.E.; wind W.N.W.; lat. obs. 36° 58'.

May 31.—These 24 hours gale has been more moderate, but y' sea great. Distance run 127 miles; course E. b. S.; wind W.N.W. to S.W.; lat., by judgement, 36° 30' S.

June 1.—These 24 hours little wind, and for y' most part contrary, with a great sea from S.W. Dist. 62 miles; course E., N.E., S. b. E., E. b. S., E. b. N. to N.; very variable; lat., by judgement (y' weather being exceedingly foggy and drizzling) 36° 54' S.

June 2.—Fresh gale N. b. W. to W.N.W., thunder and much lightning, with darke cloudy weather, course E.S.E. Distance run 188 miles, latitude, by judgement, 36° 54' S.

June 3.—These 24 hours it has blowne an exceeding great storme, and so continues, with much lightning and frequent violent gusts of rain and hail, which putt us from all our sailes, except the fore sail; y' seas very great and lofty. Our distance run by log 197 miles, but by y' variation 'tis judged we have run neer 220 miles; course E.S.E., E. b. S. and E.; wind W. and W.S.W.; lat., by an imperfect obs', 36° 0' S.

June 4.—These 24 hours y' storme has and does still continue with y' same violence and rage as it did yesterday, with terrible gusts and showers of rain, and seas running mountains high, which made us roll exceedingly. Dist. run 195 miles, but conceive we have gone much farther; course E.S.E.; wind from S.W. b. W. to W.N.W.; latitudo, by judgement, 35° 36' S.

June 5.—These 24 hours y' storme has encreased (and still continues) to be a mere frett of wind, y' whole sea being like a perfect breach, with most violent gusts every $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{3}{4}$ hour, accompanied with fierce showers of hail and rain. The last night we shipp'd 4 seas in y' great cabbin, two from a port (which it forced open) over y' head of y' rudder, and 2 more from one of y' gallery windows. We had only a foresail and spritsail abroad; y' latter broke its sheet, and could not be sett again till y' morning. Our dist. run by log is 214 miles; course E.S.E. and E. b. S.; wind W.; lat., by obs. 34° 54' S.

June 6.—From yesterday noon till 12 o'clock last night y' storme continued in its full force, as it has been for these 3 days past, and then abated so gradually that at 8 o'clock this morning we ran but after the rate of 2 miles an hour, with both topsails abroad. Distance run 134 miles; course E.S.E.; wind S.W. and S.W. b. W.; lat., by judgement, 34° 45' S.

June 7.—From yesterday noon till 7 or 8 o'clock at night y' gale continued increasing very gradually, when, for divers hours following,

we ran 10 or 11 miles an hour. Our dist. run is 194 miles; course S.E. b. E. and E.S.E.; wind W. b. N. to N.N.W.; lat., by judgement, 34° 59' S.

June 8.—From yesterday till 12 at night y^e gale continued exceeding fresh, in which time only we ran 119 miles, and then it fainted away, so that in these 24 hours our distance ran in y^e whole is but 170 miles; course E.S.E.; wind N.W. to W.; lat., by obsⁿ, 34° 35' S.

June 9.—These 24 hours fair weather (more than we have had this month), and a fine gentle gale, with smooth water. Run 78 miles; course E. b. S.; wind W.N.W.; lat. obsⁿ, 34° 14' S.

June 10.—Fine, pleasant weather these 24 hours; smooth water, and steady fresh gale. Dist. run 142 miles; course E. and E. b. N.; wind N. to N.W.; lat., by obsⁿ, 33° 20' S.

June 11.—Fair, fresh, steady gale, smooth water. Dist. 177 miles; course, E. b. N.; wind N.N.W.; lat. 31° 57'.

June 12.—Little wind, smooth sea, dark cloudy weather. Dist. run 74 miles; course from E.N.E. to E.S.E.; wind from N. to N.E.; lat., by judgement, 33° 21' S.

June 13.—These 24 hours wind has been contrary, a fresh gale and dark cloudy weather. Run 84 miles; course N.N.W. to S.E. b. E.; wind E.N.E. to N.E.; lat., by judgeⁿ, 31° 55'.

June 14.—Wind has continued contrary, very fresh gale from N. to N.E. b. E., with much rain and dark cloudy weather. Run 73 miles; course N. W. to E.N.E.; latⁿ, by account, 32° 5' S.

June 15.—From noon yesterday to midnight, little wind; from that time it has blowne very hard, with continued rain (more or lesse), and exceeding dark cloudy weather, and, which is worst of all, y^e wind still continues contrary. Our dist. run is 63 miles; course N.E. to E. b. N.; wind N.N.W. to N. b. E.; latitude, by judgement, 31° 39' S.

This day we threw Robert Pattison, one of our Quarter Masters, overboard. He is the first mariner that has dyed in this shippe, and lay many days sick of scurvy.

June 16.—Between 11 and 12 o'clock last night y^e wind came up fair, and so it continues. Our distance run is 98 miles. A great sea and dark cloudy weather; course E.N.E. to N.E. b. N.; wind N. to S.W. b. S.; lat., by obsⁿ, 30° 8' S.

June 17.—These 24 hours y^e gale has been very fresh; a great sea, with dark cloudy weather. Distance 167 miles; course N.E. b. N. and N.E.; wind S.S.W. and S.W. b. S.; latⁿ, by observation, 27° 50' S. We judge ourselves this day 1000 leagues from y^e Cape, which (considering y^e contrary winds we have had) is esteemed a very good run from y^e 25th ultimo.

June 18.—These 24 hours fair. Run 154 miles; course N.E.; wind S.S.W. to S.E.; lat., by obsⁿ, 25° 8' Sorth.

June 19.—These 24 hours fresh gale at S.E. b. S. to E.S.E., with darke cloudy weather. Dist. run 154 miles; lat., by judgement, $22^{\circ} 57' S.$ This morning we are passed y^o Tropick of Capricorne in $5^{\circ} 35' merid.$ distance to eastward of y^o Cape,¹ and in 16° degrees variation.²

June 20.—These 24 hours the gale has been very fresh, E. b. S. and E.S.E., but, going close-hauled y^o distance run is no more than 134 miles; course N.E.; lat., by obs., $21^{\circ} S.$ Variation 14° this morn.

June 21.—These 24 hours it has blowne so hard from y^o E. b. S. to E.E. that sometimes we have been forced to hand both our topsails. This morning our fore-topail split, and going close hauled. Our distance run is but 133 miles; course N.E. to N.N.E.; lat., by obs. $18^{\circ} 49' S.$

June 22.—These 24 hours it has blowne exceeding hard, especially in gusts with raine, which were very violent, contrary to our expectation so far within y^o Tropick, we have carried no more sail than our courses and fore-topsail, reefed, upon y^o cap. Our distance run 123 miles; course N.E. b. N.; wind E. b. S. and E.S.E.; lat., by obs., $17^{\circ} 4' S.$ Yesterday in y^o afternoone our fore topsail was split a second time.

June 23.—These 24 hours for y^o most part it hath blowne a storme from E. b. S. and E.S.E., with exceeding hard and frequent gusts of drizzling rain. Till 8 o'clock this morning we have not been able to sett our topsails, reefed $\frac{1}{2}$ of y^o mast; y^o weather extream darke and cloudy, with a very great sea. Dist. run 97 miles; course N.E. b. N. and N.E.; lat., by obs., $15^{\circ} 29' S.$

June 24.—These 24 hours it has blowne hard, with dark cloudy weather; the main-top sail handed all right.³ Run 106 m.; course N.E. b. N. to N.E. b. E.; wind E.S.E. to S.E. b. E.; lat. obs. $13^{\circ} 54' S.$ Var. 11° .

June 25.—Very fresh gale at E.S.E., with divers great gusts and raine, dark cloudy weather, and a great sea. Dist. run 186 miles; course N.E. by N.; lat., by obs., $12^{\circ} 0' S.$

June 26.—These 24 hours y^o gale has continued, E.S.E., very fresh, with frequent great gusts and violent showers of raine, with little intermission, the weather exceeding darke and cloudy. Dist. run 138 miles; course N.E. b. N.; lat., by judgement, $9^{\circ} 54' S.$

June 27.—These 24 hours y^o rain has been so violent that it has seemed (in a manner) one continued showre, the wind blowing hard by gusts from E.S.E. to S.E., and weather so dark and cloudy that we have not seen the sun, either for observation of latitude at noon, or amplitude at night or morning, these 2 dayes. Distance run 108 miles; course N.E. b. N.; latitude, by judgement, $8^{\circ} 6' S.$

June 28.—From yesterday noone till 6 o'clock this morning, darke

¹ Reckoned from Lizard.

² Mag. var., 1875, $13^{\circ} W.$

³ Furled.

cloudy weather, with frequent gusts and rain. At 2 this morning we tacked for fear of y' Islands of Candi and Ady,¹ and stood to y' Southward till towards break of day, supposing ourselves in 7 degrees—the latitude of these Islands. Dist. run 98 miles; course N.E. by N. and S. b. E.; wind S. b. E., E.N.E., and N.E.; lat., by obs., $7^{\circ} 19' S.$

June 29.—These 24 hours fair weather, a fine fresh gale E. b. S. and E., and smooth water. Dist. run 110 miles; course N.E. b. N. and N.N.E. This morn^u, by amplitude, y^u varia^u was 8°; lat., $5^{\circ} 31' S.$, course now altered to N. b. E.

June 30.—From noon yesterday to 6 this morning, fine gentle gale; since then, calme, darke, cloudy weather, with much rain, thunder, and lightning. Distance run 85 miles; courses N. b. E. and North; wind E. b. S. and E.S.E.; lat^u, by judgement, $4^{\circ} 6' S.$

July 1.—These 24 hours very little wind, and that sometimes contrary, y^u weather exceedingly dark and cloudy, with great showers of rain. Distance run 57 miles; course from East to N. b. E.; wind N.N.E. to N.W. b. N.; lat., by judgement, $3^{\circ} 27' S.$

July 2.—These 24 hours dark cloudy weather, little wind and smooth water. Dist. run 83 miles; course N. b. E.; wind S.W. and S.S.W.; lat., by obs., $1^{\circ} 56' S.$ Variation this morning, by amplitude, 7 degrees. The like var. of 7 degrees this evening, which has caused us to steer N.

July 3.—These 24 hours fair weather, little wind from S. b. W. and S.S.W., smooth water, but y^u weather darke and cloudy. Distance run 80 miles; course North; lat., by obs., $0^{\circ} 28' S.$ This night, about 9 o'clock, we judged ourselves past y^u Equinoctial Line.

July 4.—These 24 hours fair weather and fine fresh gale, especially since 8 o'clock last night, and smooth water. Distance run 118 miles; course N.; wind S. to S.W. b. S.; lat., by obs., $1^{\circ} 30'$ to the Northward of the line. Variation this morning $7^{\circ} 48'$.

July 5.—These 24 hours fine fresh gale, S. b. W. and S.S.W., smooth water, but dark cloudy weather. Distance run 103 miles; course N. and N. b. E.; Lat., by judgement, $3^{\circ} 13' N.$

July 6.—These 24 hours fresh gale W. b. S. and W.S.W., with great gusts of rain and dark cloudy weather. Distance run 146 miles; course North; lat^u, by obs., $5^{\circ} 13' N.$; and y^u longitude or meridian distance from y^u Cape, $55^{\circ} 1'$. No azimuth nor amplitude these two days to know y^u variation.

July 7.—From yesterday noon to 6 o'clock at night, a fresh gale and dark cloudy weather, in which time having run 35 miles North without seeing Zeilon (Ceylon), and judging our selves to y^u Westward of y^u Island, we steered East all the night. By 5 o'clock this morning we saw land about 4 leagues off, and so continued sailing y^u same distance

¹ Query, Diego Garcia—in lat. $7^{\circ} 26' S.$, long. $79^{\circ} 30' E.$?

for y' shore; course E. b. N.; wind at W. and W.S.W. a fine, fresh gale this morning. We sounded, and had ground in 50 fathoms. The sun afforded us no observation.

July 8.—From yesterday noon till 1 o'clock this morning we steered East, and then lay to till 5 o'clock this morning, when, making sail, we steered N., N. b. E., N.N.E., and North by East again. Y' whole distance run 106 miles; wind at W. and S.W. b. S.; lat^o, by obs., 6° 33' N. The gale continues fresh, with indifferent weather. This night a Dutch sloop came off to us from Batticalo Fort, Zeilon.

July 9.—This morning y' Dutch sloop left us, assuring us he saw not, and believed no English ship was yet passed by this Island. These 24 hours a fair and a moderate gale. Distance run 100 miles; course N.N.E., N. b. E., and N.; wind S.W., b. S.; lat., by obs., 7° 56' N.

July 10.—These 24 hours fair weather but little wind, and a very great rolling sea, which makes us believe here is a great current, that sets against us to y' South^o, in regard our distance run (being 69 miles by our Log), is more than twice as much as we find we have really run by our observation, which is 8° 30' N.; course N. b. E.; wind at S.S.W. and S.W.

July 11.—From yesterday noon till 8 at night little wind; then it came up very fresh; which makes our distance run 153 miles; but finding, by our observations, we have not advanced to the North^o full two degrees, we are forced to cut off 33 miles of our log, concluding a very strong current sets against us to the S^o; course N. b. W. and North; wind W.S.W. and W. b. S.; lat., by obs., 10° 47' N.

July 12.—These 24 hours very fresh gale and great sea. Dist. run 173 miles; course N. and N. b. W.; wind W. and W. b. S.; lat., by obs., 13° 5' N.

July 13.—These 24 hours hath rather smooth water, and a fair moderate gale. Distance run 116 miles; course N.E. b. N. and N.N.E.; wind W. b. S. and W.N.W.; lat., by obs., 14° 56' N. We judge y' current now sets for us.

July 14.—This 24 hours it hath blown hard, with exceeding dark, cloudy weather. Between 11 and 12 o'clock last night we were suddenly a back-stays (taken aback) with a violent gust of wind and rain, accompanied with much lightning and thunder. Our distance run 139 miles; course in y' night N.E.; before night yesterday, in y' afternoon, N.; this morning, by break of day, N.N.W.; wind from y' W.S.W. to y' W.N.W.; latitude, by judgement, 16° 37' N.

About 2 o'clock this afternoon we saw y' Main Land, and sailed within 7 leagues of it till night, steering N.E. and N.E. b. E.

July 15.—These 24 hours fair weather and a fresh gale. Dist. run 146 miles; course from y' N.N.W. to y' E.N.E.; wind from y' W.S.W. to y' W.S.W.; lat., by obs., 18° 10' N.

July 16.—These 24 hours it has blown very fresh, with hard gusts of rain and dark cloudy weather. We lay by all last night till 10 o'clock this morning, y^e Captain being desirous to see y^e Jagernot Pinnace for his better satisfaction, which we discovered this morning about 3 o'clock. Distance run 106 miles; course from y^e N.N.E. to E. b. S.; wind from y^e South to y^e W. and S.W.; lat. by judgement, y^e sun being in our zenith, 19° 50' N.

July 17.—These 24 hours a fresh gale, with gusts of rain, and very dark cloudy weather. From 7 o'clock last night till 5 this morning we lay at anchor in 18 fathoms water, and then made sail. Dist. run, 78 miles; course N. b. E. to E.; wind W. and S. W.

About 2 in y^e afternoon we doubled y^e Point of Palmiras, and between 6 and 7 in y^e evening we came to an anchor in y^e Bay.

July 18.—About 8 in y^e morning we had gott out our Long boat, and weighed our Anchor. At 11 o'clock this morning we anchored again, about 8 or 10 miles distant from a Ship and 5 small vessels we saw in y^e Road, and 15 or 16 miles from y^e shore; however, soon after we came to an anchor I sent away Capt. Raynes in y^e Pinnace, ashore with a letter to y^e Chief and Council of y^e English Factory at Ballasore; and M^r Garret (one of our Mates) in the Yall to y^e Master of y^e first Yacht he can speak with, to come off to us, and Pilot our Ship into y^e Road.

Y^e. Copy of y^e letter wrote to y^e Factory is as follows:—

"Aboard of y^e Defence in Ballasore Roads,

"Sira,

"July 18, 1682.

"The Hon^{ble}. E. India Company have made y^e several Factories in this Bay a distinct Agency from that of Fort S^t George, and having sent us hither for y^e Government of their affairs, We desire the Chief and Second (at least) of your Factory, to come off as soon as may be, to consult with us concerning y^e management of their business; and that you would dispatch y^e Sloops to us with all expedition; wherein you will not only do an acceptable piece of Service to y^e Company but likewise oblige,

Sir, Your most humble servant,

"WILLIAM HUNTER,

"JOHN BEARD,

"To y^e Chief and Council of the

July 19.—We weighed anchor again, and were soon about 2 or 3 miles to 2 sloops which would not give it up to us, and sending for y^e Masters aboard, the one was y^e *Good Hope*, George Herne, Master; the other y^e *Madapollam*, John Hampton, Master. They told us the Ship we saw in Port was the *Crown*, Capt. Dorrell, with M^r Pitts, who had been here 11 days before. That M^r Pitts had hired a great house at Ballasore, carried divers Chests of money ashore, and was very busy in buying of goods. We were likewise informed that two other small Ships in our sight, over against Pipli, were English vessels, arrived but 3 days before us; one of which was commanded by Capt. Say, of about 200 tons. The Commander's name of y^e other Ship they did not know, but were informed they all wanted Pilots to carry them up the River to Hugly.

July 21.—About 1 o'clock in y^e Afternoon I took my leave of Capt. Heath and all others on board y^e *Defence*, and embarked on y^e Company's Sloop y^e *Good Hope*, of 100 tons burthen, for Hugly, in company with y^e *Madapollam* (another Sloop) on which embarked M^r Beard and his Son, M^r David, M^r Rushworth, M^r Leseley (y^e Minister) and his Son, with 3 soldiers.

On our vessel were all my family, M^r Johnson, Capt. Heath, and Capt. Raines, besides M^r Byam of Ballasore, and M^r Hill, a young man sent down by M^r Vincent, with orders to the Company's Ship, for the delivery of their goods. This night about 9 o'clock we anchored on y^e Braces.

July 22.—This morning early we began to weigh our Anchor, but y^e wind blowing hard and y^e sea running high, and having broke our Windlace, were forced (not being able to weigh our Anchor) to cut off about 20 fathoms of our Cable. Whilst we were endeavouring to weigh, y^e *Madapollam* came up; she had broke her Cable and lost her anchor. This morning the Sloop *Arravall*, with M^r Richards and his

family, M^r Langly, M^r Bray, and M^r Ravenhill, came up with us. This Night we got up so far as a little Village called Rangamata, and there Anchored.

July 23.—This morning about 8 o'clock we weighed and sett sail with a small breeze, scarce stemming y^e Current, but y^e gale soon freshening we got up as high as a Village called Great Tanna,¹ by 12 o'clock, from whence I sent one of y^e Boatmen with a letter to M^r Vincent at Hugly as follows:—

“From aboard of y^e sloop Good-hope, off Great Tanna,

“July 23, 1682.

“The Hon^{ble} E. India Company have thought good to make y^e severall Factories in y^e Bay of Bengall an agency distinct and independent from that of Fort St. George, and having sent us hither for y^e management of their affaires, we request you to dispatch to us, with all convenient speed, y^e Company's and some other boats, to carry us up to Hugly, being about 60 persons. Please to cause convenient accommodation to be made for our reception, and y^e favour you shall show us herein will be thankfully acknowledged by

“Sirs, Your most humble Servants,

“W. H. and W. J.”

This letter was signed only by myself and Mr. W^m Johnson (M^r Beard and M^r Dodd, on y^e Madapollam, not being in sight), and was directed—“To y^e wthsp^m Mathias Vincent, Esq^r, Chief for y^e Hon^{ble} E. India Comp^r affairs in Bengal and Orissa, and Councill in Hugly.”

July 24.—Early in y^e Morning I was met by M^r Littleton, and most of y^e Factory, near Hugly; and about 9 or 10

¹ Great Tanna was built where now stands the house of the Superintendent of the Botanical Garden, about 8 miles below Calcutta, and distant from Hooigly about 20 miles by land. S. Marisco writes in 1676—

“In Tannah stands an old fort of mud wall^s w^{ch} was built to prevent y^e incursion of y^e Arracans, for it saith about ten or twelve years since that they were so bold that none durst inhabit lower down the river than this place; the Arracans usually taking the people of the places lower than 11 miles (quasy Tipara¹).”

o'clock by M^r Vincent near y^e Dutch Garden, who was attended by several Boats and Budgerows, guarded by 200 Firelocks, and about 50 Rashpoots and Peons well armed. He invited me to go ashore with him to the Dutch Garden where he had provided an entertainment for me, and made preparation for my reception. I went along with him, and stayed till evening, expecting M^r Beard's arrival in y^e other sloop, who not coming in time, we went together to the Factory, and there parted company.

All transactions from this day to y^e 10th October are entered in the publick Diary.

October 9.—The severall affronts, insolencies, and abuses dayly put upon us by Boolchund, our chief Customer (giving a generall stop of our trade), being grown insupportable, y^e Agent and Councell for y^e Hon^{ble} E. India Comp^{any} at Hugly resolved upon and made use of divers expedients for redress of their grievances; but all means proving ineffectual twas agreed and concluded in consultation that the only expedient now left was for the Agent to go himself in person to the Nibob and Duan at Decca as well to make some settled adjustment concerning y^e Customs, as to endeavor the preventing Interlopers trading in these parts for y^e future; in order to which preparations were caused to be made. M^r Richard Frenchfeild and M^r William Johnson were appointed to go along with y^e Agent to Decca. They thought convenient to go by y^e way of Merdadpore a towne within 4 or 5 hours travell of Cassumbazar, to have opportunity to speak and consult with M^r Charnock and others of y^e Councell there, what course is best to be taken in this exigency. Preparation of Budgerows and other boats with Provisions, etc. being made and a list of resolution given to Permegeudas, y^e head of the army and chief customer here and liberty granted to him to carry Presents, etc.

October 10.—The Agent with all his retinue, being 28 English men in Souldier's gear, and 15 Rashpoots and Peons, embarked on two Bridgerows and divers small boats, between 6 and 7 o'clock at night, to go towards y^e English Garden, to which place Permesuradas, contrary to his promise, sent privately divers armed boats to seize some of ours. This night they took one boat laden with 18 half-pieces of fine cloth, and carried it with them so quietly, that we heard not of it till y^e next morning. This evening I was followed to y^e Garden by Mutoradass, who pretended he was sent by Permesuradas to adjust all differences betwixt us before my departure; and here in the presence of Mr. Bearde and the rest of y^e Council twas agreed on and concluded betwixt us, that for a present of 2,000 Rupees we should have free liberty to receive and send away all our goods, of which he was to accept our entrys without weighing or seeing them, we being obliged at the end of two Months to pay Custom for the said goods, if at that time we did not procure a Pherwanna from the Duan of Decca to excuse us from it.

October 11.—In the morning notice was given me that one of our boats with 18 half-pieces of cloth was stolen from us by Permesuradas his Servants. I then immediately despatched away Mr. Johnson, Mr. Prendergast, and my Nephew Hedges, with some Soldiers, to go up to bring away y^e boat from y^e Mearbar,¹ or ~~wherever~~ where they should find her; which was handsomely performed, though with some threats from y^e Governor's Servants; about eight we got 3 or 4 miles above y^e English Garden, where we were overtaken by some Horsemen, who were full of Armed men, and seeing the numbers were increasing, and the boat increasing every minute, we thought it best to turn to y^e other side of y^e river out of Permesuradas's reach; but here we found y^e stream so narrow, that the boat was scarce able to turn, and the men were so

¹ ~~wherever~~ customs or barriers.

close upon us;" and finding them not to be scared with y^e bare presenting of Guns and Pistolls to their breasts without firing of them; (which was the only thing they desired that some person might be wounded or killed by us;) and the length of their lances secured them from Cludgalls, we were prevailed upon to stay an hour in that place for y^e Governour's answer. Before the expiration of this time we were overtaken by y^e Caddies Neip,¹ y^e Mearbar's deputy, and y^e Dutch Director's Vakill (by the way 'tis observable y^e Dutch omit no opportunity to do us all the prejudice that lies in their power), who came from Permesuradas beseeching me to return to y^e English Garden, where, they assured me with many oaths and protestations, Permesuradas should come to me to beg my pardon, and become friends again, which was all their design before I went to Decca, for fear of doing him prejudice there. If we refused to accept of this proffer, they assured us we should never proceed on our voyage without killing some of y^e King's Souldiers, and what the ill consequence of that might be we were left to consider. But these men returning to Hugly without any promise of my going to y^e Garden, about midnight, I attempted once more to force my way through three boats which lay athwart my boat, and sent my Nephew with some Souldiers to y^e head of my boat, with a good Bamboo in one hand, and a Gun in y^e other. Their lances prevented, as before, y^e use of his Bamboo, and on presenting his Gun he had five lances clapped to his breast, bidding him take his choice which he would kill, and y^e survivors of them would do y^e like to him. During this scuffle the current ran so strong that we fell near a mile astern towards Hugly, where we fastened our boat and lay the remainder of this night.

October 12.—This morning I returned to y^e English Garden and sent for M^r. Beard and M^r. Ritis to come and consult with

¹ F.F. Neip, or Digny.

us what course was now best to be taken for y^e Honourable Comp^{ys} most advantage. Here I was met again by y^e Cazee's "Neip"; Muttradass, and an eminent Mogoll Merchant, who with many oaths faithfully promised, if I would continue at y^e Garden this night, Permesuradass should come and cast himself at my feet, begging to be reconciled, and if I would grant him y^e favour to accompany me to y^e factory, I should return again with all my boats as soon, and to what place, I thought good, without any obstruction; and so we parted for this night, before which time it was resolved by y^e Councell that if I should not prevail to go this way to Decca, I should attempt to do it with y^e sloopes by way of the River of Rogues,¹ which goes through to y^e great River of Decca.

October 13.—This morning Permesuradass sent Muttradass again to excuse his not waiting on me this morning, "but he would not fail to do it to-morrow", which appearing to be only a trick to protract time, and (as we were credibly informed) that M^r. Pitts (who was designed for Decca) might go before us, I caused all y^e boates to make what haste they could aboard of y^e sloopes, where we arrived about 4 or 5 o'clock in y^e afternoon. Here I was met again by y^e Cazee himself, with divers of y^e chief persons in towne, beseeching me not to stir this night, and to-morrow morning he would bring Permesuradass to me without fail. I gave little credit to these fair words, but ordered 2 sloops, the *Sted Hope* and the *Lilly*, to be ready to sail y^e next morning.

October 14.—Permesuradass sent divers persons to let me know he would visit me aboard my Budgera by y^e sloops side, but would not go aboard y^e sloop; desiring also that I would send a boat to bring him to me. When he was come to y^e side of y^e Budgera he sent to give his notice, and

¹ Rogues's River, now Channel Creek, was so called from Portuguese outlaws using it as a station from whence they made continual attacks on the shipping. This and the Mura contributed to the foundation of the *Bombaim*.

desired I would come down out of y^e sloop into y^e Budgong. At my first coming down he embraced me with much respect before y^e spectators. After mutual Salutes, y^e Cazee and he used all y^e arguments they could invent to persuade me to go ashore and make friends in the Factory, assuring me, with great protestations, if I would grant him that request he would not only permit me free liberty to go which way I pleased to Decca, without stopping, y^e boats with presents, but likewise write in my favor to Bulchund, his Master, at Cassambazar. I answered in fine to this frivolous request, not apprehending any advantage he could possibly receive by it, more than to delay my time; however, I went ashore immediately, and took him in my hand, walking together in that posture from y^e boats to y^e Factory, he being guarded by Peons and Servants, and I by y^e Souldiers and Peons of y^e Factory, with most of all y^e Englishmen in town. Being come home he had little more to say but to assure me of his respect and friendship for y^e future, and that I might go which way I pleased, and that if I would send a servant with him, he would immediately send me y^e letter promised in my favour, to his Master.

October 14.—As he went out of one of the factory doors I went out of the other, towards the Sloops, where resolution was taken for my going to Decca by way of Cassambazar, as y^e most usual,¹ though it is believed by others the voyage might be performed in less time through the River of Burman. All things being put again into y^e Budgong, out of y^e Sloops, and having waited till 5 o'clock in the Afternoon, Permesuradas's letter, I went aboard y^e Budgong, and so farwards to Cassambazar; but I had almost forgotten the unjust and villainous practice used by y^e Indians towards our boatmen.

As many as he could take strangled, he said, because the rivers were deeper than they are now, and so salted up.

prisoned; the like he did to our Peons ~~went~~ on our service; and those Peons and Boatmen that he could not take he sent for their wives and children or other near relations, beating and imprisoning them that their Husbands and Fathers might leave our service; making also proclamation, by beat of Drum throughout the town, that if any Slave would run away from us he should be free, and liberty given to go where he or they pleased.

About 6 o'clock this night we got up to y^e English Garden, where y^e Servant I sent for Permesuradas's letter to Bulchund, met me, and told me he saw no hopes of getting y^e letter, but was ordered by Permesuradass to tell me he would have me stay there till he sent to search my boats to see what was in them; and if I refused to stay there he would certainly stop me again at Trippany¹ some miles further up the River; but, resolving now to be abused no more in this manner, I sent all y^e laden boats before, with Mr. Johnson to see them make all the haste that might be, and not to stop all night. Next to them went the Souldiers with y^e other Budgero. I followed that, and 2 stout fellows, an Englishman and a Spaniard, in a light boat, came last of all.

About 2 hours within night a boat full of armed men came up very near to the Spaniard, who speaking y^e language demanded who they were, and commanded them to stand, but those in y^e boat returning no answer, nor regarding what he said, he fired his Musket in the Water, at which they fled astern. About an hour after, when we were got up at the Trippany, the armed boat came up with y^e Spaniard who commanded them to keep off, otherwise he would

¹ The junction of three streams, *i.e.* the *Chogdah* and *Maggra* stations on the railway; lat. 22° 59' N. An article in the *Friend of India* for Dec. 3rd, 1857, mentions that the confluence of the *Chogdah* and *Maggra* is called *Tribeni*, *i.e.*, three braids of hair.—*Friend of India*.

shot amongst them though he shot at us when we came before; so the boat fell astern, and perceiving that we intended not to stay at that place, we saw them no more.

October 15.—Being Sunday we dined ashore at Petre under a great shady tree near Santapore,¹ where all our Burmese boats are ordered to stop, till we can have assurance from Permesuradass that we shall receive and send it on one Sloops, after entrys were made of it. At this place Mr. Wood, who has charge of y^e said Petre Boats, came to me. I gave him a letter to Mr. Beard to be sent by an express to Hugly, and so proceeded on our Voyage.

October 16.—Early in y^e morning we passed by a Village called Sinadghur, and by 5 o'clock this afternoon we got as far as Rowee, a small village belonging to Wooderry, a Jemadar, that owns all the country on that side of the water, almost as far as over against Hugly. It is reported by y^e country people that he pays more than twenty Lack of Rupees per ann. to y^e King, rent for what he possesses—and that about 2 years since he presented above a lack of rupees to y^e Mogull and his favourites, to divert his intention of hunting and hawking in his country, for fear of his tenants being ruined and plundered by the Emperor's lawless and unruly followers. This is a fine pleasant situation, full of great shady trees, most of them Tamarins, well stored with peacockes and spotted Deer like our fallow-deer: we saw 2 of them near the River side at our first landing.

October 17.—This day about noon we got to a Village called Andoolee.

October 18.—We dined at Ballea,² and after a few hours repose, rowed on, and tracked all night.

¹ Now Santipar, lat. 23° 14' N.; long. 88° 30' E.

² There is a Bales on the Jellinghee River, in about lat. 23° 45' N.; long. 88° 30' E.; about E. b. N., 10 miles from Phussey, on the Rangoon road.

October 19.—We rested about 6 o'clock at Uddumpur, and lay till 12 at night, then rose and tracked all night as before. About 10 last night Mr. Johnson parted from us towards Meerdaupoor with intention to go from thence to Cossimbazar bazaar, and come with Mr. Charnock,¹ Mr. Catchpoole, and Mr. Rickman, to meet me at Meerdaupoor aforesaid.

¹ Mr. Job Charnock was chief at Cossimbazar in 1680. Bruce first mentions him in 1680 (*Annals*, vol. ii, p. 450). Near the northern wall of St. John's Church, once the "cathedral" of Calcutta, is a rather oriental-looking open mausoleum, of black stone and brick, containing four upright memorial slabs within, viz., to Charnock; to his youngest daughter, Mrs. White, 1701; to Wm. Hamilton, surgeon, 1717; and to Mrs. Martha Eyles, 1743. There were twenty-eight inscribed slabs, lying nearly horizontally round the exterior in 1843.

According to Bruce (*Annals*, vol. ii, p. 450), Job Charnock's merits were handsomely acknowledged by the Court of Directors in 1680. In a letter to the Government of Fort St. George, the Court wrote that they "would rather dismiss the whole of their other Agents than that Mr. Charnock should not be the Chief of Cossimbazar".

The slab is of an exceedingly black stone, and the inscription is in relief:

"D. O. M.

Jobus Charnock, Armig.

Anglus, et nup.: in hoc

Regno Bengalensi

Dignissim' Angloru'

Agens

Mortalitatis siccus exuvias

Sub hoc Marmore depositi ut

In spe beatis resurrectionis ad

Christi Judicis adventum

Obdormirent

Qui postquam in solo nos

Suo perigrinatus esset die,

Reversus est domum nisi pro

nitatis decimo die Januarii

1682.

" Pariter jacet

Maria Jobi Charnocki

Carol. Fyre, Angloru'

hicca Profecti

October 20.—About 10 o'clock this morning I arrived at Colcapoor, and at 6 this night M^r. Charnock, M^r. Catchpoole, M^r. Barker, M^r. Rickman, M^r. Thredor, and M^r. Harding came to me here. I consulted with those of Councell with me, and those of Cassumbazar, who all unanimously agreed that my speedy going to Decca and application to y^e Nabob and Ministers there, was y^e only probable means now left for redress of y^e Hon^{ble} Comp^{ny} grievances, and recovery of their priviledges for y^e future.

October 21.—We lay at Colcapoor, and about 5 o'clock this afternoon set forward towards Decca, and lay this night near y^e mouth of y^e Ganges, where y^e River being broad and rapid with great shoals, we durst not adventure into it until daylight.

October 22.—We rowed down y^e great river the most part of this morning. We went within a point of y^e South, either East or West. In y^e Afternoon we went much Northerly. Half an hour before Sunset we fastened our Budgeroes to y^e shore to provide and dress our suppers. We reposed ourselves here till 12 at night, and then rowed on till morning.

October 23.—We continued rowing all day in y^e most

Conjux carissima
Quae obiit 19 dic Feb'
A.D. 1696-7."

The adjoining slab, to the memory of the youngest daughter, who died in her first confinement, aged 21, is peculiar for a very well-worded (Latin) epitaph, in the course of which the writer drifted into Greek, describing her as "Tei Marapivov Jobi Charnoch, Filia Natu rainima", etc.

Orme, who evidently is not partial to Charnock, speaks of him (vol. ii, p. 12, *Military Trans. in Hindostan*) as having been imprisoned and scourged by the Nabob; perhaps it was in the sense of "having been chastened", that the writer of the above considered him blessed.

Mr. Catchpoole continued in service, and was ultimately President of the Settlement on the Island of Pulo Condore, where he was murdered in a general mutiny of the Mahr^{ty} soldiers, March 2, 1705.—See *Annals of S. I. C.*, vol. iii, p. 606.

planned coming this evening to cover 10 miles. We did so before sunset we returned to our boat and went to the right, and then rowed on till morning.

October 24.—This morning we saw a small boat in the
shore, and supposing it to be y^r morning of yesterday, we
named y^r Budgeroo to row to y^r shore, found it had been
half burnt up. Our course has intently been from
y^r South-East to y^r North-East. About 1 o'clock this after-
noon we got to the Chukchiy of Ustiwodt from whence we
were presently dismissed. At 3 this afternoon we were
able to clear our own and boatmen's supplies, and prepared
all at night, and then rowed on till morning.

October 25.—By 12 o'clock this day we reached Chan-Can's position in sight of Decca, where we were met by y^e Second and Third (y^e First being lately dead) of y^e Dutch Factory at Hugli-Budgeo; and by M^r Pownall, M^r Harvey, and M^r Cross of the Factory. M^r Harvey, their late chief, lying so weak after a fit of the Gout and Fever that he was not able to come with them. We left this Garden between 3 and 4 o'clock, and got to the Factory at Decca by 6 in y^e afternoon. It was the 11th day since we left Hugli.

26. -- In the morning Mr Pounce and James Price, my Uncle, went to acquaint Ray Mandell, y^r Nabob's Uncle, of my arrival last night, and desire that he would appoint a time when I might wait on him, and the Nabob; he said Ray very courteously told them I might take my own time to-morrow in y^r afternoon with regard to betwixt them. This afternoon a young brother of the Nabob Mecca, and his wife, whose mother and Uncle were of great note in the world with sisters and daughters.

of my departure, which I am now about to make, he has ever shown to me the same courtesy and respect as any European. I intended to visit the Nabob this night, but as the time was past for a more fortunate hour, I was induced to pay him a greater respect, which would be on y^e 29th for y^e 28th to which I agreed with due acknowledgement for his courtesy and kindness to me.

October 29.—At 9 in y^e morning I went with an escort, who after $\frac{1}{2}$ hour's attendance, sent officers to conduct me into his presence, being sat under a large canopy of state, covered with crimson velvet richly embroidered with gold, and deep gold and silver fringes, supported by four pillars, all plated over with gold. I was directed by y^e Nabob's Master of the Ceremonies, to sit over against him, and nearer y^e canopy than his Duan or any other person. On my first entrance y^e Nabob was very busy in dressing and vesting divers principal officers and with all possible diligence with recruits for their army lately arrived from Asham and Sillet, two large plentiful countries, and a journey distant from this City, which are all lost in the one little place held out and kept by 40 or 50 men only; y^e rest of y^e Souldiers being all fled out of y^e Country. Amongst y^e rest I saw a Portuguese who was to be the leader of 5 or 600 of his countrymen. This busy business continued $\frac{1}{2}$ of an hour. When it was done, y^e Nabob called my Vekeel, James Price, and bid him tell me when I came into this Country; continuing his discourse, inquiring questions of me for $\frac{1}{2}$ of an hour, how long it was since I left England; How many months time I had been at sea; And, How many months I had been in this Country. Whether I was one of y^e Company, who were sent to know, how far I had travelled, and the end of my question. I was a person of small

been in Turkey and Arabia (as he was informed), and could speak those languages, in which I was immediately examined by a person placed (I suppose on purpose) near to me, to know whether y^e report was true or ~~false~~; and for a good space after he was my Interpreter, with which they were pleased; and admired to hear from a Frange (as they call us). He enquired also whether I had seen y^e Empereur of Germany? and in what part of y^e World y^e Kingdom of Spain stood, and whether all y^e Dollars brought into those parts came out of this Country, with many more such like questions. When he gave me leave to depart (according to their customs) he rose up, and going away, stood still, and told me I should go first out of his Presence, which (I'm informed) is greater kindness than he has ever shewn before to any Christian.

This Afternoon I went to visit Haggi Sophie Chan, y^e King's Duan, where I was entertained with Coffee, and stayed about half an hour. He bade me welcome, and afterwards spoke to me himself in Arabick, demanding how I liked this country, and whether I thought it as good as my own, etc. This being y^e first visit, when matter of business is never mentioned, I took my leave and returned to y^e English Factory, which is at least 3 miles distant from this, or y^e Navob's Durbar, a most inconvenient situation for doing of business, being far from y^e Courts of Justice, Custom house, and y^e water side; for taking up or sending away of goods.

October 30.—I was visited by y^e three Dutch Factors in y^e Afternoon, viz., J^{no} Bonstoe, Alexander Urwin, and Jacob Smith, who supped with me. (31st) I sent to acquaint Haggi Sophie Chan, y^e King's Duan, I intended (God Willing) to wait on him in y^e afternoon. This day, at dinner time, y^e Navob sent his Chief Cook and Butler with 8 or 10 Dishes of meat (with a Compliment) from his own table, which I am told is intended for an extraordinary favour. The Dishes and Covers were Silver and very Large.

A little before sunset I went to Hugly, and after some few questions and discourse with the Arab, promised me to renew my Phurwanna for y^e free passing and receiving all our goods for y^e remainder of y^e Seaven Months, formerly granted, and then invited me to stay and sup with him.

November 1.—This morning I sent all y^e presents to y^e Navob's Durbar by James Price, and followed them myself at 9 o'clock. When I was almost got thither, a Peon sent by James Price, told me y^e Presents were returning to y^e Factory, Ray Nundelall being sick, without whose presence and assistance it would not be convenient to give them. So I went to Mierza Muzaffier's house, where I was this day invited by him to dinner, and returned to y^e Factory again in y^e Evening.

This Afternoon I sent James Price to mind Haggi Sophee Chan of y^e Phurwanna which he promised, who assured him order should be given for the doing of it.

November 2.—I sent James Price to visit Ray Nundelall; before noon he brought me word y^e Ray returned my salute, was much recovered of his distemper, and that I should be welcome to him to-morrow morning.

This afternoon I sent James Price again to press Haggi Sophee Chan for y^e Phurwanna, who was put off till to-morrow. This night I received letters from M^r. Beard of y^e 25th Ultimo, at Hugly, advising that on y^e 20th detto, Rangivan, our Vekeel there, was sent for by Permesuradass, Bulchund's Servant, who immediately clapt him in prison. Y^e same day [he] was brought forth and Slippered; the next day was beat on y^e Soles of his feet, y^e third day Chawbuct,¹ and y^e 4th drub'd till he could not speak, and all to force a writing in our names to pay Rupees 50,000 for custome of y^e Silver brought out this year. He hath given a writing for Rs 5,000.

¹ Chawbuct, "flogged"; also, "whipped".

y^e last message Mr^r Brand rec^d from Permesuradass was that if he sent not presently Rupees 50,000, he would beat Ramgivan to Death, so that unless speedy relief can be obtained at Decca, they must either pay Custome or y^e Ships cannot go home this year.

November 3.—I went in y^e morning early to inform Ray Nundelall of the injuries done us by Permesuradass, but he, being much indisposed at present, desired to be excused from y^e trouble of business. I acquainted his Chief Writer with all our concerns, who promised this afternoon to tell them all to his Master.

November 6.—Ray Nundelall, being so well recovered as to be able to go to y^e Durbar, I sent y^e presents this morning, and gave them to the Nabob, who told me he did not like so much cloth, but desired rather some rarities, which would be more acceptable to him. When y^e Durbar was over, I sent to know of y^e Ray when he would please to accept of his presents, who ordered them to be brought on y^e 9 Instant.

November 7.—I waited on Suffede Mahmud, Haggi Sophee Chan's Son, y^e Fousdar of Hugly (who would not admit me in y^e morning). After half an hour's discourse, with various entreaties and fair promises, he assured me he would use his best endeavors to procure y^e Perwanna so long promised, and accordingly went with me to his Father, where, after a long discourse betwixt them, y^e Fousdar told me his Father was out of power, a new Duan being on his way thither, and, therefore, he could not grant my Perwanna. I told him Permesuradass was not out of Power to do us mischief, and his authority was derived from him. At last, with many arguments and earnest entreaties to know the reason of this unkindness and breach of promise, he told me Bulshund had advised him and y^e Nabob, "if he trusted us and gave us time for payment of our custome in 7 Months", we would leave y^e Country and pay none at all.

To which I replied I would give security of Merchants in y^e place (which was accepted), and to-morrow morning promised to bring them to him.

This night I was invited to sup with Coda Bux Chan, the Bucksi of this place, who is first Cousin to Orang Zeb, and marryed to this Nabob's daughter. He has assured me he will speak to y^e Nabob for my dispatch, and favour me on all occasions what lies in his power.

November 8.—I sent for some Gentu Merchants to be our security to y^e Duan for our payment of Custome after 7 Months, if a Phirman be not procured in that time, which being a day, as also to-morrow, wherein their religion obliges them not to do any business, they desired to be excused till y^e 10th instant, so [we] were forced to have patience till that time.

November 9.—I sent James Price to waite on Ray Nundall, and to know when he would accept of his present, whose answer was, "When he would have it we should have notice to send it to him," and when he would permit me to discourse with him in private, for which last this afternoon was appointed: whilst my Vekel was talking with y^e Ray, a letter was brought him from M^r Pitt.

This afternoon I waited upon Ray Nundall, and discoursed him fully concerning Bulchund and his Servant, Permesundass's villainous practices at Hugly. I told him, likewise, of my desire to have him procure me a new Phyrmaund, to which he returned this short reply, "Your business shall be done for you"; and appointed two of his Servants to treat with me concerning y^e Price and Wording of y^e Phirman.

November 10.—In y^e morning I sent letters to Hugly and James Price to treat with y^e Nabob's Servants concerning y^e Phirman. All they did was to discourse of y^e former (7), and consider y^e best methods to go about it, and so parted. I treated with y^e Merchant for being our security, whose demands were so unreasonable, requiring an obligation for pay-

ment of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., *per Mensem*, interest for so much money, and so long time as he should stand engaged for us, we were forced to send for another Merchant, whose demands were likewise very great. In fine, y^e necessity of closing with him, if we intended to take off y^e present stop on our trade, made me agree to y^e lending of him Rupees 20,000 *gratia* for his security, and becoming obliged to him for payment of what soever sum y^e Custome shall come to more than y^e said Rupees 20,000, if a Phirman to clear as of Custome be not procured in 7 months' time.

November 11.—I send James Price, with our new security, to Haggi Sophee Chan for our promised Perwanna, and also to treat with y^e Ray's servants about y^e Phirman. This evening y^e King's Duan granted an order (by his Son's mediation) to give us a Perwanna for passing our goods 7 Months from this day, upon our Entrys, without Payment of Custome.

November 13.—News being brought me last night that Nabob (in y^e 82nd year of his age) had a Son born this day, and 'twas expected I should make him a visit, and give him a present, I went this morning to y^e Durbar, and gave him 13 Gold Mohurs and 21 Rupees, which he accepted so kindly that I took y^e opportunity to request his Perwanna in conformity to that granted by y^e King's Duan; and that another Perwanna might also be sent, with two of his own Servants, to recover all the monies unduly and forcibly taken from us by Permesuradass at Hugly, which was likewise granted.

November 14.—I visited y^e King's Duan and his Son, Sopheede Mahmood; y^e Duan promised me a Perwanna for recovery of y^e money paid to Permesuradass upon sight of that promised by y^e Nabob.

November 15.—I sent away two Perwannahs to Cassum-nagar to be shewn to Bulchund, and their Copy's to Hugly.

This afternoon Ray Nundell sends me word y^e Nabob would not give me his Perwanna on Permesuradass, to return

y^e money forced from us, till I procured, such a Perwana first from y^e Duan. I sent James Price immediately to Haggi Sophee Chan, desiring him to grant me y^e said Perwanna, but as James was in y^e house; going to him, he was suddenly taken with such a violent fit of an Ague that he was forced to return home; *re infecta*.

November 16.—The King's Duan not being to be spoken with at all in the morning, I wrote a letter to his Son, desiring him earnestly to solicit his Father for the said Perwanna, and facilitate his granting of it to me in the afternoon, when I intended to wait upon him; advising him, likewise, that Permesuradass was forcing Rupees 5,000 more from us at this time, and stopped the proceedings of our goods to Bellasore, giving all the furtherance he could to y^e Interlopers.

In the Afternoon I went to y^e Duan, where, after a long discourse with himself and his Son, he told me he durst not give his Perwanna for y^e recovery of any money that is once appropriated to y^e King; showing divers letters written him to that purpose by y^e King's order. Upon which I took leave, and went immediately to complain of this proceeding to Ray Nundellall, who told me y^e Duan did not deal so justly with me as he ought to do, and advised me to apply myself to y^e Nabob y^e next Durbar day (which is on y^e 18th Instant), and he would know y^e Nabob's pleasure in this business.

November 17.—This morning I received a letter of y^e 8th instant from Mr. Beard, advising me he was in so great fear y^e Ships would not go away this year, it had put him upon making y^e best terms he could with Permesuradass, to whom he had promised 4,000 Rupees, as a gratuity for Bulchund, to let our goods pass to and fro without molestation.

November 18.—I went to y^e Nabob, who, after a little pause, enquired of me how many ships Mr. Pitt had brought into this Country, to which I replied four or five. He then

asked whether he belonged to y^e Compy. I answered in y^e negative. He further demanded whether it were usuall in this country for private Merchants to trade in these parts that were not of y^e Company? I replied No; at which an eminent person stood up and assured y^e Nabob the contrary, and all I could say would not dissuade from that opinion.

At last y^e Nabob came to this resolution. If he were a private merchant, as I assured him, he should pay Custome, and give good security before he left y^e Country that he would do no prejudice to any of y^e Mogull's Subjects after his departure. As to my request for a Phirman "not to pay Custom" to be procured of the King, he told me it would be chargeable and tedious for him to get it, but he would willingly give me his letter in my favour, which, with a Servant of my own, would be sooner got on more reasonable terms.

That he would write to Bulchund to displace Permesuradass, and give me his Perwanna to cause all the money forcibly taken from us, to be paid into our Security's hands, till such time as it be known whether we can procure a Phirmaund from y^e King in 7 Months. So we parted.

November 20.—I sent James Price to y^e Nabob's Durbar, but Ray Nundelall's Uncle being dead, he could not be there; so no business was done for us.

This morning I agreed with a Merchant here to give him Dollars, to the value of 20,000 Rupees, to receive y^e like sum in Hugly, Mr. Beard complaining he had not money in y^e Factory to buy Victuals, and could not get any at interest. In y^e Afternoon I went to y^e King's Duan to know upon what terms we should send our money to y^e Mint, who, after some difficulty, granted his Perwanna for y^e payment of only 3½ per Cent. Custome, and that to be paid only at one of the two Mints of Decca or Rajenall, and in no other place, which has cut off Bulchund's pretences not only of Rup^{50,000} for the treasure imported this year, but also y^e arrears of y^e former years, which is very materiall if we should not

have y^e good fortune to obtain a Phirman to excuse our payment of Custome in 7 Months' time. Besides, I hope, upon showing this command to y^e Nabob, he will grant his Perwanna to recover all the money forced from us by Permesurdass, at Hugly.

November 21.—I wrote to Mr Beard, and sent him a bill of Exchange for 20,000 Rupees and a copy of y^e Duan's Perwanna, that Gold and Silver are to pay but 3½ per Cent. Custome, at y^e Mint only, and not to be demanded in any other place. This afternoon I sent copies of y^e said Purwanna to Rajemali and Cassumbazar.

November 22.—This being y^e Nabob's Birthday, when all persons that expect favour or respect at Court give him presents, 'twas thought convenient that I should do the like; and, being on y^e way, a Peon was sent to me by Ray Nundellals chief writer, desiring I wold not go this day to visit y^e Nabob, for reasons he did not then think fit to acquaint me. I sent James Price to speak with him, and returned to y^e Factory.

November 23.—I went and presented y^e Nabob with 21 Gold Mohurs and 50 rupees, and so returned; matters of business being not to be discouerst on this day.

November 28.—This morning early news was brought me the new Duan was yesterday at Satrapoor, one dayes journey from this place.

November 29.—This morning, notice being given me that y^e new Duan was at a Garden near y^e City, I went to give him a visit, and was respectfully and kindly received by him, with assurance of doing us justice upon all occasions, and furthering our trade what lyes in his power. In y^e Afternoon I took my leave of Haggi Sophee Chah, y^e late Duan.

November 30.—This being y^e Moors feast of "little Byram", no business could be acted by me this day, so I sent James to y^e Durbar to enquire whether Mr Pitt and Capt. [unclear] were sent for hither, as Ray Nundellal had promised.

yesterday. His answer was, that this being Byram, no business could be done till to-morrow morning.

December 1.—I sent James Price to Ray Nundellall's. This morning a Gentoo sent by Bulchund, Gouvernour of Hugly and Cassumbazar, made complaint to me that Mr. Charnock did shamefully, to y^e great scandall of our Nation, keep a Gentoo woman of his kindred, which he has had these 19 years; and that, if I woulde not cause him to turn her away, he would lament of it to the Nabob, which, to avoid further scandall to our Nation, with fair words I prevailed with y^e poor fellow to be pacified for y^e present.

I was further informed, by this and divers other persons, that when Mr. Charnock lived at Pattana, upon complaint made to y^e Nabob that he kept a Gentoo's Wife (her husband being still living, or but lately dead), who was run away from her husband and stolen all his money and jewells to a great value, the said Nabob sent 12 Souldiers to seize Mr. Charnock; but he escaping (or bribing y^e men) they took his Vekeel and kept him 2 months in prison, y^e Souldiers lying all this while at y^e Factory gate, till Mr. Charnock compounded the business for Rupees 3000 in money, 5 Pieces of Broad Cloth, and some sword-blades. Such troubles as these he has had divers times at Cacumbazar, as I am credibly informed; and whenever she or Mr. Charnock dyes, y^e pretence will certainly lye heavy on y^e Company.

This morning early I received a Gen^b from Hugly acknowledging y^e receipt of y^e Nabob's and Duan's Perwannahs sent them for y^e free passing of our goods, which Permesur-dass would not obey, saying he was Bulchund's servant, and expected orders from him. I went immediately to Ray Nundellall and acquainted him how little y^e Nabob's Perwannahs were regarded, who advised me to complain of y^e Nabob, which I did, and received this answer: "The Nabob would order Bulchund to suffer all our goods to be sequestrated for y^e remainder of the 7 months, and to turn Bulchund out."

out of his service, and would order a tipstaff or messenger to go and see it put in execution"; so took leave and returned to y^e Factory.

December 3.—I went to visit y^e new Duan, after I had shewen all our old Phirmans and Perwannas in our favor for a free trade without payment of Custome, he told me those were once of value, but now signified nothing. The King having ordered that if Custome were not paid at Surat it should be paid here, excepting y^e respite given us of 7 months for y^e procuring y^e King's Phirman to the contrary. At present he confirmed the Nabob's (Haggi Sophi Chan's) Perwanna by his Chop, that no custome should be demanded for money, save at y^e Mint, and that but 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of 3 Pesa.

December 4.—James Price brought me draw^{rs} of 3 Perwannas granted to me y^e 2nd Instant, that Suradass should be turned out of his place; that y^e goods should be forced from us should be restored, that our goods should pass free without interruption payment of Custome; and that an Assole¹ or more, together with Bulchund's Vekeel, should be sent to see this perwanna put in execution. These 3 heads were put into one Perwanna.

The next Perwanna was directed to Bulchund and the Fousdar of Ruggly, to seize Mr Pitts and Captain Dorrell, and bring them hither to give security not to use any hostility towards the Mogull's Subjects when they are gone out of port. If they come and appear, their voyages will be lost this year. If they abscond and go away, they will be esteemed villains, and not permitted to come again here.

The 3rd Perwanna granted was for relief of grievances at Maval. These 3 Perwannas are promised to be signed to-morrow, in such case, I will make a roand proffer for a Perwanna, and so make all the speed I can to see y^e Company's

goods must bear Ynatual, Turk, and Pers, a state messenger, "Silver Stick".

affairs dispatched at Cassumbazar and Hugly for y^e ship's departure.

December 5.—This being Tuesday, and no Durbar day, nothing could be done for obtaining the Perwanna.

December 6.—Received letters from Mr Charnock, etc., returning the Nabob's and Haggi Sophi, Chan's Perwanna, which Bulchund refused to obey.

December 7.—I went to y^e present Duan's to desire a Perwanna for the free passing of our goods, who told me plainly we must pay Custome at Surfat or in this place, and would give no reasons to the contrary. When I alledged such reasons, he would force us out of the Country, his answer was: "We might immediately when we pleased." I made complaint of this to Vekeel, who sent Say Nundellall (in presence of Bulchund's 2 Vekeel), who sent me to acquaint y^e Nabob with what I told him. I went to y^e Nabob's Durbar, where I met with y^e new Duan. I complained of Bulchund: the New Duan took his part, insisting on our paying Custome. The Nabob [?] used divers arguments in our favor, and offering himself to be my security to y^e Vaid ^{or} Rupees 50,000. At last he commanded y^e Duan to give his Perwanna for y^e free passing of our goods the remainder of y^e 7 months, saying he would write to y^e King for a Phirman to free us from this Pretence, as we have been formerly. If Mr Charnock had taken the pains to present these 2 Perwanna himself, 'tis probable, with a small present, he might have prevailed with Bulchund to have our goods freed. However, at this rate any pitifull Vekeel is as good to act y^e Company's Service as himself.

December 8.—I wrote to Hugly and Cassumbazar to Mr Johnson who went from Decca this evening.

December 9.—Mr Beard, supposing me on my return to Hugly, wrote Mr Pownset a letter dated y^e 1st Instant advising that y^e ship *Society* was safely arrived at Ballasore. She set sail out of y^e Downes y^e 30th May, and not touching at any place by y^e way, lost 17 men of y^e Service.

This morning I went to y^e new Duan, Emir Seid Amud, who made great difficulty to grant his Perwanna for y^e free passage of our goods. At last he refused mine, and promised to accept of Goolab Ray's security, that if we did not produce y^e King's Phiftman in 6 months' time (1 month being expired), we should pay Custome immediately, according to our Talica¹ or entrys, and upon these terms he promised to give us his Perwanna in y^e afternoon. So I left James Price and Goolab Ray to wait y^e Duan's leisure, and get y^e business effected, which they did, and brought y^e said King's Duan's Perwanna accordingly.

December 10.—The Nabob sealed and signed all y^e Perwannas, formerly [formally] granted, for y^e free passing of our goods—turning out of Permesuradass,—and recovery of our money forced from us, appointing an Assole² or messenger, together with Bulchund's chief Vekeel, to carry y^e Perwannas and see them put in execution. The Perwannas, for bringing up Pitts and Capt. Dorrell, were likewise sealed, and promised to be all given us to-morrow morning.

December 11.—This morning I sent away two Expresses; one to Cassumbazar, with y^e King's Duan's Originall Perwanna and its copy, to be presented to Bulchund for taking off and freeing y^e stop on our trade. The other Express was with y^e copy of y^e said Perwanna to Mr. Beard at Hugly.

December 12.—This morning I dispatched away two expresses more, with copy's of y^e Nabob's perwannas, "to Displace Permesuradass, and recover our money of him"; one to Cassumbazar, and y^e other to Hugly, to give those Factories notice what I had done, that they might be sending their goods to y^e ships at Ballasore.

As soon as these letters were sent away, I went immediately to Ray Nundell's to have had y^e Seapy, or Nabob's

¹ *Tilikah* or *Talika*, an inventory or invoice.

² See note, p. 53.

horseman, consigned to me, with order to see y^e Perwanna put in execution; but, having thought better of it, y^e Ray desired me to have patience till to-morrow morning. He would then present me to y^e Nabob, whose commands to y^e Seapy and Bulchund's Vekeel would be more powerfull and advantagious to me than his own. I took his advise and returned to the factory; after y^e Ray had assured me at his house, he would prevail with y^e Nabob to write to y^e King for a Phirman for us, and our business should be all done according to my desire.

December 13.—I went to y^e Rays in y^e morning, and with him to y^e Nabob's Durbar, where y^e Nabob gave me y^e Perwanna before mentioned, and called the Seapy and Bulchunds Vekeel commanding to see y^e Perwanna carefully observed in every particular. I then desired him to undertake the procuring a Phirman of the King, who replied: "It was better for me to do it myself by a Vekeel which would cost less money, and be sooner got than if he sent for it", with which answer I took my leave of him.

This afternoon I took my leave of Coda Bux and Mierza Maduffa, Orang Zeb's Sister's Sons, in return of the severall Visits they had made. The former is married to the Nabob's daughter, and y^e latter to the Nabob's Eldest Son's daughter. Next I took my leave of y^e new Duan, and, lastly, of y^e Dutcb Factory from whom I received divers Civillitys.

At night I received letters from Cassumbazar advising Bulchund's stomach was come down, promising Mr. Charnock to let our goods pass, and to be very good and friendly to me for y^e future, his Vekeel here having advised him, y^e Nabob was exceeding angry he disobeyed his Perwanna.

December 14.—This morning early I went to Ray Nundell's with a letter from my self (in case his indisposition should prevent my speaking to him) to mind him of his promise to me divers times, "That the Nabob would write to y^e King for our Phirman"; but, coming to his house, we found

ye Ray's distemper so much increased upon him, that he commanded his Servants not to suffer him to be disturbed with any business. So I was forced to return home, and sent James Price to ye Ray's Deputy at ye Durbar, for our Maulda Perwanna, and for the copy of that Perwanna to bring up Mr Pitts and Capt^o Dorrell.

In ye Afternoon I went again to visit ye Ray, and take my leave of him, who gave me great hopes of prevailing with ye Nabob to procure us a Phirman, assuring me, twice, he would (God willing) take the very first opportunity to acquaint the Nabob with my request, and to inform James Price with the Nabob's resolution, and for that purpose advised me to leave James Price behind me to take the Nabob's answer in case my occasions would not permit me to stay for it myself. I replied ye time was so far spent that ye Houth Comp^{re} occasions would not permit of my longer stay at this place, but I would leave my Vekeel and his present with Mr Townset at ye English Factory, and so took my leave of him. This night I received a letter from Mr Hill at Rajemant advising ye Drog, [Darogah] of ye Mint would not obey a Copy, but required at least a sight of ye Originall, and that confirmed by ye new Duan, which shall be sent him to-morrow morning before I go from hence.

December 15.-- This morning early I wrote my instructions to be left with James Price, and dispatched an express to Maulda and Rajemaul. To ye former I sent a Perwanua for the relief of all their grievances, and turning out of Jamshire Leigh, who had given them ye occasion of their lament. To Rajemaul I sent ye old Duan, Haggi Sophi Chan's Perwanna, Chopt both by the Nabob and new Duan, for its confirmation, "That Custom of Money is to be demanded only at ye Mint, and there to pay but 3½ per cent."

After I had made these dispatches, I waited ye evening of Goolab Ray, who brought me a copy of the memorandum sent unto ye Nabob by Ray Nundelall (his indisposition not suffer-

ing him to go in person), under y^e Ray's own hand, of my proposals for a Phirman, not doubting of giving me a satisfactory account of y^e Nabob's undertaking my business in two or three days at farthest. I gave Goolob Ray an obligation under hand and seal, to accept his bills on me as far as Rupees 6000, for Procuring a Phirman, and then took my leave of Decca and went aboard y^e Budgero for Cassumbazar and Hugly, resolving (God willing) to make y^e best of my way thither, having been 51 days since my first arrival at Decca.

Just as I was taking my leave of Decca City, I was visited by Mirza Madusfa (the King and he being Sisters' Children), who, seeing a glass of wine and water filled for me to drink to him, he desired to take it out of my hand, and dr^{nk} part of it to me, telling and desiring that this might be a token betwixt us, as y^e wine and water, although just now two distinct body's, were now inseparably united, and soe should our friendship be as long as we lived.

December 17.—About 12 o'clock at noon we got to y^e Chowkee, where, after we had shown our Dustick and given one present, we were dismissed immediately.

December 18.—Bulchund's Vekel not coming up with us according to y^e Nabob's command, and his own promise, I sent awry the Assôle, with a Peon and y^e Nabob's Perwanna, to be accompanied from thence by Mr. Charnock, etc., to Bulchund, and to require another Perwanna of him in conformity to y^e Nabob's, to displace Pernesuradass at Hugly before my arrival there.

December 20.—I received letters by a Cessid from Mr. Johnson and Mr. Catchpole, dated y^e 18th Instant, from Muvooldavad,¹ Bulchund's residence, advising they had visited Bulchund, and got him to clear Mr. Meverell's Budgero for Pattana, and Mr. Anthony's 4 boats for Rajen, who had lain there 2 days without hopes of being released. They likewise cleared 4 boats with y^e Company's

¹ Now Moorshodabad.

treasure for Rajemall, which [had] lain stopt before I passed by for Decca, and those boats which lay laden at Cassuimbazar (which Bulchund declared he kept there so long, because no Englishman came to him for their proceeding to Hugly).

They prevailed also with Bulchund to write me a complemantall obliging letter, assuring me 'twas Mr Charnock's fault that ever he stopped our goods, or detained them so long; and that for the future he was resolved to court my friendship to which I returned him an answer by the same express.

December 21.—One of Bulchund's Vekeels overtook me this morning, and after customary salutations, passed on to inform his Master of my coming.

December 23.—I wrote to Mr Beard advising him of my arrivall this evening at Mierdaudpoor, and intention to visit Bulchund on my way to Cassuimbazar.

December 25.—In y^e night we lay a mile short of Muxoodavad. In y^e afternoon I met with Mr Johnson and Mr Catchpool, coming to pay their respects.

December 26.—In y^e morning I went to give Bulchund a visit according to his invitation, who rose up and embraced me when I came near him, enquired of my health and bid me welcome to Muxoodavad, assuring me of all y^e friendship and kindness that lay in his power. And for my better satisfaction commanded divers Perwannes to be written directed to his several officers, requiring them not to give y^e least trouble or disturbance to our trade, but to let all things pass with y^e same freedom that ever it did. Bulchund told me he heard I had given Goolob Ray security for our payment of custom upon our entrys, in case a Phirman should not be procured; that he was now going himself to Decca; that he would take and bear my obligation, and be my security himself; and would not fail to get an order from the Nabob to settle a Mint at Hugly or at Cassuimbazar, as I had formerly desired him. In recompence of which he requested me to remit one part of my Perwanna touching y^e displacement of

Permesuradass, who, being thoroughly acquainted with his business, could not be turned out but to y^e King's and his great prejudice. That he would command Permesuradass not to meddle in our affairs, that he should return all y^e money forcibly taken from us, and would send another "Droga" or Customer,¹ or purpose to take our Tallicas, and send them to him to be forwarded to Dacca. These fair promises, together with y^e consideration of y^e time for lading and departure of our Ships was far spent, and if he should be cross and stubborn (as he is naturally inclined to be) y^e lading of our Ships and their departure might be much delayed, I consented to his proposal; and as soon as I had despatched all my business here, and got y^e Perwannas (which was not till after six at night), I went to Cassimbazar, where I arrived a little after 8 o'clock.²

December 27.—This day I spent wholly in seeing and examining what store of silk, &c., was now in y^e Company's Golowns, where I found the quantity of more than 500 bales of silk not yet prized,³ which I immediately caused to be brought out and prized whilst I was here, which was accordingly done, Mr Charnock promising 500 great Lakes, and 200 chests of silk should follow me in 10 or 15 days at farthest. And this night about 9 o'clock we took boat for Hugly.

December 28.—We lay to at Nuddia, on y^e Point of Cassumbazar Island, and after our boatmen had eaten, rowed all night, and y^e next morning by 2 o'clock were past Sanctapoor.⁴

December 30.—By 8 o'clock in y^e morning we got to Trippany, and dined at Hugly, where (God be praised) we arrived all in good health.

December 31.—Permesuradass y^e Customar⁵ sent 2 of his chief servants, desiring me to permit him to give me a visit, which I appointed him in y^e afternoon. Being come, he ex-

¹ I... Darogah or Customs official.

² About eight miles below Murshidabad.

³ Priced.

⁴ Suntipore, about 81 miles.

⁵ Comptroller of Customs.

pressed his great joy to see me so well returned from Decca, passing many compliments upon me. That he was a servant and did no more than his Master commanded him. That now, being otherwise directed, he would show me all y^e respect and kindness imaginable, suffering all goods whatever to pass, that I desired him.

January 1683.

January 6.—This day I received a letter from Charles Crosse 3, at Decca, whom I had ordered James Price my Vekeel to acquaint with all the Hon^{ble}. Comp^y's. concerns, and to give me a constant advice of all his proceedings. Mr. Pownset having divers times declared if I left James Price behind me, he would give him 500 chawbuk^s² the next day after I was gone out of towne, and slipper him out of doors, so [I] was forced to order Mr. Pownset not to concern himself with James Price during his stay at Decca.

Mr. Crosse advises me that James Price had made an agreement with y^e Nabob to procure us a Phirnaund from y^e king; that whilst they were discoursing y^e business, y^e Nabob received a letter from Bulchund, advising him that y^e Custome of this year's goods already registered (besides great quantities not yet come down) amounted to 75,000 Rupees, on which the Nabob demanded 3 years custome at that rate for procuring a Phirnaund; but this discourse passing over, y^e Nabob began to talk of writing to y^e king, and that he should be at great charge at court (to get our said Phirnaund) in Durbar expences, &c., which James finding no other remedy promised to pay; so y^e Nabob ordered Goolob Ray our security to give him a Bill of Exchange payable to his Vekeel in Delly³ for Rupees 10,000 for Court Expences. Besides which sum Cossadass y^e Chief Secretary—Mutsuddies, and y^e Nabob's

¹ I.e., third in rank.

² Lashes.

³ Delhi.

Chief Eunuch will be paid all their money before hand, as also y^e Nabob Rupees 5000, and y^e rest when y^e Phirmaun arrives. Though this be chargeable, 't will be done effectually and money better given than ever was in this country.

For discharge of these for-going sums James Price has drawn his bill on me for Rupees 20,000, payable to Goolob Ray's Vekeel at 13 dayes sight, which I have accepted. Mr. Crosse further advises y^e Nabob's letter to y^e King is drawn out foul—when it is fair written, and James Price has seen it despatched, he intends to make all the haste he can to Hugly.

So that my going to Decca has in y^e first place got 7 months time for procuring a Phirmaund; 2^{ndly}, taken off wholly y^e Pretence of 5 per cent. Custome, on all Treasure imported this and y^e 3 preceeding years, besides 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of what [was] usually paid, at y^e mint for some years past; 3^{rdly}, procured y^e general stop to be taken off all our trade, our Goods now passing as freely as ever they did formerly; 4th, got a command to turn Permesuradass ent of his place, and restore y^e money forced from us; 5th, and last, prevailed with y^e Nabob to undertake y^e procuring a Phirmaund for us from y^e King, of which there being no great doubt to be made, I shall make this short estimate of the advantage we shall certainly receive from it this year:

6 per Cent. saved for Custome on £200,000 Treas-						
sure Imported is ...	...	...	...	...	...	£13,000
The Custome of £200,000 in Goods outwards at						
3 $\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent. is ...	...	...	...	...	...	7,000
In all	...	...	...	...	...	£20,000

besides great expence, not to be abused in y^e valuing of our goods. If God gives me life to get this Phirmaund into my possession, y^e Hon^{ble}. Comp^y shall never more be much troubled with Interlopers. I bless God for this great success I have had, beyond all men's expectations, in my voyage to Decca.

The two Perwannas procured to fetch up M^r. Pitt and Capt. Dorrell were compounded with Bulchund for a good sum of money, and 5 per cent paid by them for all their goods; with other great presents: though these men are so shameless as to deny it.

January 10.—This day I received letters from James Price at Decca, advising y^e Nabob's letter to y^e King for procuring our Phirmaun, was sent away to him some dayes since. Letters from Cassumbazar advised Thomas Brounly dyed y^e 29 Ultimo.

January 21.—Y^e Fouzdar sent me word y^e Perwannas taken out by me at Decca for y^e seizing of Pitt and Dorrell were now come to his hands, and he was sending orders to seize them if possible at Ballasore. I shall not fail to give y^e Nabob notice of this treachery in his officers.

January 22.—About 5 at night, I went aboard y^e *Madapollam* Sloop with the Hon^{ble}. Comp^r's letters, Invoices, and Bills of lading for dispatch of y^e *Defence* at Ballasore, which I resolved to go myself and see performed with more expedition. We got no further than over against y^e Dutch factory by 8 o'clock, when I received a letter from Mr^r Beard, advising, I was no sooner put off from y^e shore but Perme-suradass began to play his old villainous tricks with us again; forcing away y^e Master and all y^e men of y^e boat whereon y^e remainder of our Decca fine cloth, and 28 Bales of Silk were laden, to complete y^e *Defence*'s Tonnage; so that Mr^r Beard was constrained, with y^e help of 3 or 7 Souldiers, whom I sent immediately to his assistance, to take all y^e goods out of that boat and lade them in another Vessell, which I brought away with me.

January 23.—This day having little or no wind, we got no farther than Barnagur, though we rowed with our boat all y^e way.

January 24.—By break of day we weighed anchor, and being a meer calm could get no farther than y^e Ebb^r would carry us, which was not altogether so far as Jan Pardo. By

y^e way I met with y^e *Arrival Sloop*, who I hastened to bring away y^e goods for y^e *Society*. Y^e tide being spent, and not a breath of wind stirring, were forced to come to an anchor, and lye here all night.

January 25.—This morning by daylight we weighed anchor and with so little wind that we could but just stem y^e tide. About 11 o'clock we met with y^e *Good-hope*, at an anchor in y^e Narrows,¹ without Hugly River, and ordered him upon y^e first of y^e flood to weigh, and make all y^e haste he could to Hugly, to take in what goods he found ready for y^e *Society*.

About 9 o'clock this night we found y^e *Thomas* at an anchor, we hailed her, and commanded her Master to come aboard. But he not having a boat, we were forced to anchor by her, and send our boat for her Master, whom I ordered to take 28 Bales of Silk and some Bales of Cloth out of y^e boat we brought from Hugly, and to bring them to me aboard of y^e *Defence*, with all possible diligence. We anchored this night on y^e head of y^e Diamond Sand.

January 26.—This morning early we weighed anchor with the tide of Ebb, but having little wind got no further than the Point of Kegaria Island, where, meeting with y^e tide of Flood, were forced to drop our anchor. About 5 this afternoon y^e *Ganges* came up to us, whom I ordered to take in 588 Bags of Salt Petre that lay ready for him in two boats within Kejeria River, and make y^e best of his way to deliver it aboard of y^e *Society*; and then to return to Hugly. This evening at 7 o'clock we weighed, but growing calme, and being to pass through y^e narrow sands of Point Ingelee, we chopt to an anchor and lay there all night.

¹ An old chart or eye-sketch, in the *English Pilot* of 1734, indicates that "the portion of the Hoogly river, now called Hoogly Bight, was then named the 'Narrows'." Above Hoogly Point the river was specially considered the River of Hoogly, in contradistinction to the Ropnarein, or "Old Ganges", up which, at a far earlier period, Chinese Junks may have traded to Tumlock.

January 27.—Before day this morning the Gale freshening in our favour we weighed, and after it was day, finding we could stem the tide, made y^e best of our way towards y^e Braces. About 1 o'clock, as soon as we had got clear of them, both wind and tide failing of us, we dropped our anchor.

At 11 o'clock y^e Sea Breeze coming in, we weighed and made all sail till 9 at night, when y^e wind proved contrary, so anchored again and lay till morning.

January 28.—At daylight we discovered the *Defence* and y^e *Society* about 2 leagues to windward of us. We made sail, and after 4 hours turning of it, we found we rather lost than gained, so came to an anchor. About 2 in the afternoon, we weighed anchor with a small breeze. About 4 y^e *Defence* and *Society*'s Pinnaces came and carried us aboard y^e *Defence*.

January 29.—The *Madapollam* Sloop delivered her lading, and was immediately dispatched away to Hugly.

January 30.—The *Thomas* arrived with y^e 28 ~~Bales~~ of Silk taken out of the *Purga*, and was dispatched for Hugly y^e same night.

January 31.—This day was taken up in comparing y^e Boat-swaines severall receipts with y^e Bills of Lading, and at night I gave y^e *Defence* her Dispatches.

February 1683.

February 1.—This morning y^e *Defence* set sail for England, and by 2 o'clock in y^e afternoon was out of sight. Soon after y^e *Defence* was under sail I went aboard of y^e *Society*, and lay there this night.

February 2.—I came ashore in Capt. Gayer's Pinnace to y^e Bankshall, about 7 miles from Ballasore, where I was met by Mr. Byam, and y^e rest of our Factory, together with all of our Merchants that trade with us. The Founder or Governor, sent his brother to salute and bid me welcome to

these parts. Whilst I staid dinner at this place Capt. Dorrell and M^r. Pitt passed by in their Sloop, with 4 Guns and about 30 English Seamen to work y^e vessel and row in y^e *Crown*'s pinnace, to tow y^e sloop. About half an hour after 4 o'clock I went in my Palenkeen for Ballasore, and arrived there about half an hour after 6.

February 5.—This morning y^e *Crown* and y^e other Interlopers sailed out of y^e road: together with M^r. Littleton in a sloop for Fort St. George.

February 10.—M^r. Tyler arrived in a vessel of his own, laden with Elephants from Tenassarim, advising me he met y^e *Defence* y^e 5th instant in 18 degrees with a fair and fresh gale of wind, steering due South.

February 26.—This night y^e *Society* set sail out of Ballasore Road.

February 28.—I went to see Nilligree Hills. I went out of Ballasore at 7 in the morning, and got to y^e tent, which was pitched by a Tank in a grove of trees, at y^e foot of y^e hill beyond y^e town, by half an hour after 10.

March 1683.

March 1.—I went out a hunting with y^e Ragea, who was attended with two or three hundred men, armed with bows and arrows, swords and targets, or javelins. I went with them beating y^e woods till 11 o'clock: at which time finding y^e Sun very hot, and having had no other sport than one hare killed with an arrow by a black fellow in y^e woods, I returned to my tent. But M^r. Frenchfeild, and Capt. Raynes, resolving to see all that could be shown them, continued with y^e Ragea in y^e field. In y^e afternoon they found a great Tiger, one of y^e black men shot a barbed arrow into his Buttock. M^r. Frenchfeild and Capt. Raynes alighted off their horses and advanced towards the thicket where y^e Tiger lay. The people making a great noise, y^e Tiger flew out upon M^r. Frenchfeild, and he shot him with a brace of Bullets into

y^e breast: at which he made a great noise, and returned again to his den. The Black Men seeing of him wounded fell upon him, but the Tiger had so much strength as to kill 2 men, and woujnd a third before he died. At night y^e Raga sent me the Tiger.

March 2.—In y^e morning early I went up the Melligre Hill, where I had y^e view of a most pleasant fruitful valley between y^e hills, which they told me was 18 Course^l long. Y^e Hills afford store of Iron, which furnishes all this country. Y^e Valleys are full of Rice, Gram, and divers sorts of Pulse. This evening I returned again to y^e factory at Ballasore.

March 5.—I went to y^e Bankshall to mark out and appoint a Plat of ground to build a Godown for y^e Hon^{ble} Company's Salt Petre, and having chosen the most conyenient place, returned immediately to y^e Factory.

March 7.—This afternoon about 4 o'clock I left Ballasore, and went down to y^e Bankshall to embark on y^e Sloop *Lilly* for Hugly.

March 8.—About 1 o'clock this morning I went on board y^e *Lilly*, and sailed over y^e Bar, where we had but $4\frac{1}{2}$ foot water, a few inches more than our Vessel drew. Y^e wind being contrary we were forced to lie at an anchor all this day till 19 o'clock at night, when we weighed and made sail with little wind.

March 9.—All y^e last night and this day it continued calm till towards night, when we had a small breeze which brought us over y^e first Sand or Brace, where we anchored all night.

March 11.—This morning before Sun rising we weighed anchor with a small breeze in our favour, and being got up with Kegaria, we went on shore in our Boats, and landed at an old ruined Castle with mud walls and thatched. We saw one small Iron Gun mounted and an Iron Patera on Y^e Island.

is exceeding pleasant and fruitfull, having great store of wild Hogs, Deer, wild Buffalos, and Tigers.

This afternoon we stood off towards Sagor, and anchored between Cock Island and y^e Oyster River.

March 12.—We went in our Budgeros to see y^e Pagodas at Sagor, and returned to y^e Oyster River, where we got as many Oysters as we desired, and lay at y^e mouth of y^e River.

March 13.—We weighed and came to Jan Pardo.

March 14.—We weighed and got to Hugly by 7 oclock at night, all in good health, God be praised for it: This night we had an extraordinary great Storm: New moon to-morrow.

March 17.—Wrote y^e Chief and Councill in Dacea in answer to theirs of the 2nd, 12th, and 22nd Ultimo. "That y^e Nabob's goods were brought up and delivered to his correspondent, Ubbeeb Allah; and that they (being acquainted with y^e customs of y^e place) knew best what to do about trusting Mirza Maduffer"; so left it wholly to them.

March 18.—Ordered Matthias Harrison to deliver over y^e charge of y^e Sloop *Lilly* to Edward Tench. He and several others having petitioned y^e same of me and y^e Councill, to find out y^e Channels, Sands, and dangerous places in this River.

March 19.—Dispatched said Sloop for y^e purpose before mentioned.

✓ March 20.—Received a Gen^{u¹} from Maulda advising "That since they had sent all their goods for this year, a Merchant hath brought in 6 Bales [of] Silk [on] account [of] his last year's investment: who desires to know whether we will take it for the ensuing year, or return it him back again, and he will bring in his remains in White Cloath."

AT A CONSULTATION.

March 21 (Wednesday).—Having received advice ~~that~~ Metchlep^{ml} of y^e arrival of 3 Interlopers upon y^e Coast, suddenly designed for y^e Bay, we took into serious consideration y^e most speedy and effectuall way to frustrate their designs in these parts. Whereupon I produced a Paper where in all y^e considerable Merchants of Bellasore have obliged themselves not to trade with Interlopers, under y^e penalty of 1000 Rupees amerce, and told them that in a few dayes I did not doubt to procure y^e like from the Merchants in Hugly. This being thought y^e most effectuall way to prevent their trading in these parts, it was ordered that advice be given to y^e severall Chiefs in y^e Bay, of y^e said Interlopers designe hither; and that they endeavor to procure the like obligation of y^e Merchants belonging to their Factories.

Boberay and Oberam, both Mr. Pitt's servants, and able men, desired to be entertained in y^e Hon^{ble} Comp^y's service, which was referred to a farther consideration.

Manuridas, sent by Bulchund as Droga of our Customes, complained for want of money for his expences, according to y^e country custome. It was ordered he be given an allowance, and referred to me to agree with him y^e cheapest way I can, and most for y^e Hon^{ble} Company's advantage.

20 chests of treasure having been sent up to y^e Mint at Rajamaul to be coyned, it was ordered, "That out of y^e Product thereof, 30,000 Rupees be sent to Dacca, 60,000 Rupees to Maulda, and y^e remainder be sent down to Hugly, to forward y^e next year's investment.

Ordered, 10,000 Rupees of y^e 60,000 R^o for Maulda, as a forestalment, be sent to Mr. Job Charnock, &c., to discharge a debt owing by Maulda Factory to Deepchund at Cassumbazar.

Ordered That some money (as little as may be) be given

¹ Metohlepatnam, Andie Mazlipatnam.

out to y^e Maulda Weavers, as y^e best expedient to recover in y^e old remains.

Having received advice from M^r Samuel Anthony, that one of their Merchants had brought in 6 Bales of Tanna Silk on account of last years remains, and also another Merchant had brought in 140 Pieces of Cossacs; it was Ordered That y^e silk be taken at price current, and y^e 140 Pieces of Cossacs be bought, if cheap.

M^r Jonathan Prickman, 2nd of Maulda, being dead, it was Ordered, That M^r Samuel Anthony succeed as 2nd, and M^r Robert Hedges (who was appointed by y^e Hon^{ble} Comp^y 3rd of Dacca, but that place being supplied by M^r Crosse, before his arrival in y^e Country) be third; and M^r William Jolland to be there an assistant upon all occasions. ✓

The Coynage at Rajamaul being at present in y^e charge of M^r Hill only, and that in case of mortallity it would be of Absolute Necessity to have one allways with him as an assistant, it was Ordered That James Smith be sent up thither accordingly.

Ordered 6 chests of Treasure be sent, from hence to Balasore to forward y^e next years investment; and that M^r J^r Byam be ordered to forward y^e building a Salt Petre Godown, at y^e Sandy Point near our Bankshall; and to provide Twenty Anchors and 6 cables.

M^r Deborah Richards, y^e Relict of M^r John Richards, not getting y^e Stock she brought out with her, coyned, time enough, by reason of our troubles to return to England y^e last Shipping: did therefore make it her earnest request to be permitted to remain in y^e Hon^{ble} Comp^y's Factory at Balasore till y^e next Shipping; intending then to return home, which was accordingly granted.

Wrote to Cassumbazar advising them that we had ordered M^r Hill to send them down 10,000 Rupees to discharge the debt owing to Deepchund, and ordered them to send M^r Hill their beam and scales, to supply his present occasions.

Wrote to Mr. Hill to deliver out of y^e product of y^e 20 chests of Treasure sent him to be coyned, as followeth. 50,000 Rupees to Englesavad,¹ 10,000 Rupees to Mr. Charnock, and 30,000 Rupees to Dacca, and to send y^e remainder hither.

Wrote to Dacca advising that Mr. Hill was ordered to send them 30,000 Rupees towards y^e years investment.

March 23.—Wrote to Maulda, advising that Mr. Hill had orders to send them 50,000 Rupees Siccas, and ordered them to give out money to their Weavers and Merchants for this years investment, and that we had ordered 10,000 rupees to be sent to Mr. Job Charnock, &c., to discharge their debt owing by their Factory to Deepchund at Cassumbazar. And we did farther enorder them, not to deliver out money to any person whatsoever till he has first obliged himself (under a Penalty) not to trade with any Interlopers. ✓

March 24.—Dispeased letters to Mr. Byam advising that in a few days we intended to send them 6 chests of treasure by the *Ganges*. We recommended to their care the speedy building of y^e Godown for Salt Petre near y^e Spa-side, and ordered them to provide 20 anchors and 6 cables for y^e Hon^{ble} Comp^y's Sloops.

Received a Gen^{ll} from Patana dated y^e 5th Instant, with their Diary for y^e last month, advising "That they had endeavoured, by using all possible means, the getting out y^e Nabob's & Duan's Phirwannas, retarded by y^e Nabob's Officers, who made use of all wayes and means to draw money into their Master's Coffers; granting orders one day, and disannulling them the next.

AT A CONSULTATION.

March 26.—Ordered y^t Boberay, Mr. Pitt's Servant, be entertained in y^e Hon^{ble} Comp^y's Service at 15 Rupees per ~~men-~~ ~~sem~~, as an expedient to frustrate y^e Interloper's designs in these parts.

¹ Angreasbad, the English factory at Malda.—[Y.]

Being informed that Manurudas, being Bolchund's servant, would not take a monthly allowance, I declared it before y^e Councell; and it was agreed that he be given money as occasion should fall out, to supply his expences, and keep him from disturbing our affairs.

Information was this day brought in against Mr. Francis Ellis by most of y^e Merchants in Hugly; that he, the said Ellis, had taken bribes to y^e value of 4000 rupees or thereabouts, to pass y^e Hon^{ble} Comp^y's goods [in] y^e Shipping. Part of which being positively proved against him, & 900 Rupees being confessed by him, it was there upon ordered that he be dismissed y^e Hon^{ble} Comp^y's Service, and that Mr. Joseph Dodd forthwith take y^e charge of y^e Warehouse upon him, & that the money which shall be proved to be taken by y^e said Ellis to pass y^e Hon^{ble} Comp^y's goods, shall be endeavoured to be secured for y^e Hon^{ble} Comp^y's use.

Post Meridiem.—Mr. Samuel Hervy, Chief of Maulda, (at present in Dacca) having been divers times ordered to repair to his Chief-ship, where there is great want of him, for y^e better management y^e Hon^{ble} Comp^y's Affairs; and no signe yet appearing of his departure; It was agreed that orders should be drawn up, and sent to y^e said Hervy, requiring him to repair to Maulda within 6 days after y^e arrival of

the letter with him at Dacca, and in default thereof to be forthwith dismissed y^e Hon^{ble} Comp^y's Service.

(Signed)	W ^m . HEDGES	W ^m . JOHNSON
	JOHN BEARD	RICH. FRENCHFIELD.
	JOSEPH DODD	

The Petition of Rogodee, Weaver, to W^m. Hedges, Agent,

SHOWETH. That on y^e Agent's going to Ballasore, y^e said Agent gave orders to take Mulmulls¹ of y^e Merchants on account of Agreement made for y^e Company, upon which

¹ Mulmull (*malma*) is muslin.—[X.]

Mr. Ellis called your Petitioner and told him, that if he would give him any thing, he would take your Petitioner's Mulmulls; upon which your Petitioner promised him 100 Rupees, and brought Ramharrain, one of y^e Merchants, for his security. After which y^e said Ellis told your Petitioner that he would not take 500 Pieces of your Petitioner's Mulmulls unless your Petitioner gave him 200 Rup., which your Petitioner (being Poor) could not doe. For which reason Mr. Ellis returned your Petitioner his Cloath again though some of it was sorted by Mr. Ellis to be received For Which your Petitioner desires you would be pleased to doe him justice.

The Petition of W^m Hedges, Agent, from y^e Hugly Merchants, viz. — Muttrasaw, Rupsuliman, Rogoodee, Giachund-saw, Rogonaut, Horkissincotma, Ramchundparamanick, Ram-narrain, Mudducawn.

SHEWETH. That to have their goods taken for agreement made with y^e Company, they have been forced to give Mr. Ellis, warehouse keeper, each of them, a Bribe, as per y^e underwritten account, in mony and goods, appears: for which your Petitioners complain to you, desiring Justice:

Muttrasaw, 1,150 Rupees in mony and goods; Giachund-saw, 73 Rupees; Horkissincotma, 102 Rupees 8 Annas in mony and goods; Ramnarrain, for Mulmulls taken from him Rupsuliman, Rogonaut, Ramchundparamanick, Mudducawn Rogoodee, 4 Annas upon each piece, for 4,453 Pieces, amounts to 1,113 Rupees 4 Annas, for which he has taken out of one Chest of Dollars, delivered Rogonaut, 500 pieces of Eight or account.

Mr. Ellis acknowledged he was proffered 4 Rupee per piece of cloth, and declared he was ready to take all y^e money they would give him.

March 27.—Wrote Mr. Hervy at Dacca, advising him that we thought it good to give him a positive order to repair to his Chiefship at Maulda, within 6 days after y^e receipt.

y^e letter at Dacca, to be on his way towards Maulda, clear of y^e Factory and City of Dacca: and in default, to be forthwith dismissed y^e Hon^{ble} Company's Service.

Wrote to Mr. Pownsett, &c^a, Ordering them to deliver Mr. Hervy his letter immediately upon receipt thereof, and to take notice of y^e time when it comes to their hands.

ATT A CONSULTATION.

March 28.—Mr. Joseph Dodd being ordered up to this Place as one of y^e Councell of Hugly, and there wanting one to supply his place as 2nd of Ballasore, It was thought fitt that Mr. W^m. Prickman be sent in his stead, and Mr. Robert Sherman be ordered thither to keep y^e Hon^{ble} Company's Books.

Ordered—15,000 Rupees to be sent to Cassumbazar from Rajansal, to pay a debt owing to Deepchund, by y^e Factory.

Ordered—6 chests of treasure to be sent to Ballasore, and that Mr. George Heron goe with them on y^e *Thomas*, and his charges up again overland be defrayed by y^e Hon^{ble} Company.

March 29.—Wrote to Pattana, advising them to be carefull of y^e Quality, as well as y^e Quantity, of goods en-ordered to provide against this year's shipping.

March 31.—We advised them at Ballasore of y^e dismissing Mr. Francis Ellis y^e Company's Service, and putting Mr. Joseph Dodd in his stead, and that Mr. W^m. Prickman is appointed to supply Mr. Dodd's place: and ordered Mr. Robert Sherman hisher, to keep y^e Hon. Comp. Books; and that instead of y^e *Ganges*, we had resolved on sending y^e *Thomas* with Six chests of Treasure.

April 1683.

ATT A CONSULTATION.

April 2.—Ordered y^t Muttrassaw be trusted with 6 chests of Treasure, and his Bills be taken on y^e Merchants at Ballasore to y^e value of 50,000 Rupees.

It being thought necessary for me to go to Cassimbaazar, Mr. John Beard was appointed to act as Chief in my absence, and to follow such orders and directions as from time to time he shall receive from me and my Councill.

April 3.—Wrote to Balasore that we had sent them enclosed 2 bills of Exchange for 56,000 rupees: viz. One from Muttradas for 50,000 rupees, which is to be paid by severall Merchants of that place, who are to receive said money on goods to be provided this year: The other is on Kimchund for 6,000 Rupees, which is to be advanced, over and above, to y^e aforesaid Merchants, a list of whose names, and what mony each of them was to receive, was likewise sent.

ATT A CONSULTATION.

April 4.—M^r. How being ordereu to goe upon y^e *Thomas* to Ballasore with Petre, to lye at y^e Banksaul, declared he was not able to carry her over y^e Barr, wherupon M^r. Scott was ordered to goe with him as his Pilott.

Having received 25,000 Rupees Siccas from Rajamaul, it was ordered that y^e remainder of y^e treasure in y^e warehouse here, be sent up thither, in y^e same Boates y^e Rupees came downe in.

Wrote a dispatch for M^r. How and M^r. Scott, ordering them to depart hence with y^e first opportunity.

ATT A CONSULTATION.

April 5.—Agreed with Chittarmullsaw and Muttradas, Merchants of this place, for 1,500 Bales of y^e best Tissinda Sugar, each bale to weigh 2 Maunds 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ Seers, Factory Weight, at 10 Rupees per Bale, and to be brought all in by y^e 15th of 7^{ber} next ensuing. Agreed likewise with y^e aforesaid Chittermaul for 1,500 bales of Beerboa Sugar, each bale to contain 2 Maunds 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ Seers, Factory weight, at 8 ru. per bale, to be brought all in, within y^e above mentioned time.

This day Mr. W^m. Johnson and Mr. W^m. Rushworth departed hence towards Cassumbazar.

Wrote a Gen^l to Ballasore, advising them we had sent 600 Baggs of Salt Petre to be ready against next shipping, and that they assist y^e Master of y^e Ship *Thomas* to turn said Ship into a Ketch; and that what mony shall be disbursed on that account they shall place to account current, Hugly.

Wrote a Gen^l to y^e Resident and Councell at Surratt.

AT A CONSULTATION AT HUGLY.

April 7.—Having informed y^e Councell that yesterday a certain number of Merchants came to me, and offered to undertake y^e providing what goods we shall have occasion for this year, to be paid for when said goods were brought in, and at as cheap rates as if money were given out beforehand; It was resolved, “That the giving out of mony upon goods of any sort should be deferred at present, till my return from Cassumbazar, or farther consideration had upon y^e same.

Y^e Honorable Company having a Godown at y^e water side, built of mud and straw, which hath been burnt several times, and one part of it or other always tumbling down in y^e raine times, and y^e repairing of y^e same being a greater charge to y^e Hon. Comp^y than y^e building a new one; It was Ordered (as well for y^e security of y^e Company's goods as y^e saving of charges), That a new one be built of Brick.

Ordered—A Boat be built at Ballasore for y^e Ketch *Arrival*.

April 10.—This afternoon, about 5 of y^e clock, I went on board of y^e Hon. Company's Budgero, for Cassumbazar, accompanied by Mr. Joseph Dodd and Mr. George Heron in another small Budgero of their cwne, and 10 Ulocks¹ for Soldiers, Cooks, Butlers, Servants, Peons, &c., and by 7 this evening we gott to y^e English Garden together with Mr. Beard and most of our Factory. Here I received letters

¹ *Ulik*, or *Halik*, vulgarly “*ulock*”, a clumsy Ganges boat.—[Y.]

from Ballasore, advising that y^e W^m. and Jn^o. [William and John], Capt. Read, Commander, an Interloper, had arrived in y^e road bound for Hugly, they mett M^r. Edw^d. Littleton on y^e coast, who dispatched them dowe hither.

This night we gott up near Santapore.

April 11.—We, lay at Bogatcher, a very pleasant and delightfull country: y^e Gemidar [*i.e.*, the Zemindar] invited us ashore, and shewed us store of Deer, Peacocks, &c., but it was not our good fortune to get any of them.

April 12.—We got as high as Nuddia, in Caasumbazar River, by 8 o'clock in y^e morning, and lay y^e night at a place called Goalparra. The river from this place upwards towards Cassumbazar being full of shoals, our boatmen advised to lye still till morning: y^e wind blowing hard at S.W.

April 13.—By 2 o'clock in y^e afternoon we got up to Ulhumpore [Qu. Allunpore ?].

April 14.—By 1 o'clock in y^e afternoon we gott up to Maula, about 3 cosses short of Cassumbazar: from whence I went in a Palankeen by land, and arrived at y^e Factory at Cassumbazar at 6 o'clock in y^e evening.

April 16 (Naylor accused).—I called a Consultation and accused M^r. Naylor of trading with Interlopers, which being proved by three letters under his own hand, he was judged guilty by all present, his Person, Papers, and Goods ordered to be seized, to see whether we could find farther testimony against him, out of his owne books and writings.

April 17.—The Chief of y^e Dutch and his wife, second, third, and fourth, gave me and my wife a Visitt, and according to y^e usuall custome of these parts stayed and supped with us.

Upon search and examination of such Papers of Mr. Naylor's as we could find (the most' material, together with his mony and good's, having been conveyed out of y^e Factory (without M^r. Charnock's knowledge, he pretends) ~~some~~ days before my arrival)—he had bought 6 Balles of Silk this

year—I found that he, the said Mr. Naylor, had privately sent away from hence 4 Bales of Silk to Mr. Beard by Mr. Charnock's Dustick, for account of Mr. George Herron, Master of the Sloop *Goodhope* of which Mr. Beard never gave me the least intimation: nor did he acquaint me that Capt. Dorrell had informed him of Capt. Pitt's correspondence with Mr. Naylor, when I was at Dacca, till I showed him Mr. Naylor's letters; when Mr. Beard told me (in y^e presence of Mr. Wm. Johnson) he was informed of Naylor's trading with Interlopers 3 months since, but never gave me y^e least notice of it before.

Harding accused.—Upon information given me by most of y^e Factory that James Harding, now entertained by Mr. Charnock as his Servant, had formerly been dismissed y^e Hon. Comp^y's Service for Blasphemy and Athisticall tenetts, and that he was a person notoriously scandalous both in life and conversation (George Pitman, a Throwster, offering to depose that he saw Harding lye with Mr. Elliott's woman slave). I ordered him not to eat at y^e Company's Table, and reproved Mr. Charnock for entertaining so vitions a person; to which he gave me y^e hearing with little or no reply, resolving, I suppose, to satisfie me for y^e present, and admit him again as soon as I leave y^e Factory.

I was also informed of one Ununteram (y^e same person who slippered y^e Merchant who poisoned himselfe in y^e time of Mr. Vincent, which cost y^e Company a considerable amount of mony), being employed by Mr. Charnock in all y^e Company's affaires; which, Mr. Charnock positively denying, I brought y^e said Ununteram to confesse and affirme he had done all y^e business of concernment in y^e Factory ever since y^e first month after Mr. Charnock's coming to be Chief. So little regard is to be given to what Mr. Charnock affirmes upon any occasion, as will more evidently appear in y^e following relation.

Request being made on behalf of Mr. Naylor that he might

be admitted to walke and discourse with any in y^e Factory, Mr. Heron obliging he shoud not goe without y^e Gates, as soon as he had his liberty he went immediately to Mr. Charnock (then in y^e Hall), desiring him earnestly to take notice of y^e hour of his false imprisonment. I sent for Mr. Charnock to know whether Naylor had said any such words to him, which Mr. Charnock positively denied, with many asseverations, till I was forced to call Mr. Samuel Langley to affirme them to his face, and caused him to recollect in memory.

April 19---Received letters from Dacca by way of Hugly advising Mr. Hervy left Dacca y^e 8th instant, and was upon his way towards Maulda.

This day Bolchund sent a kinsman of his to compliment me and bid me welcome to Cassumbazar, assuring me a kind reception if I thought good to come and see him.

April 20---I called a Consultation to peruse Mr. Naylor's books and Papers. In his copy book of letters began in January last, was found a letter to Mr. John Beard of y^e 16th of January last, intimating he had written a *Geo* to me, &c^a, in Hugly, and enclosed divers letters which he, y^e said Naylor, had received from Mr. Pitts, which made it appear he never traded with Interlopers; but Naylor being sent for and examined, he denied that ever he sent y^e said letter, declaring he burnt it: nor did he ever send y^e said letter to Mr. Beard, being purposely wrote to deceive and delude us.

Upon farther perusal of Mr. Naylor's books, we found he had lately bought several parcells of Silke of y^e following dates:

1682.

		RUP. AM.
Xber 5th, paid Ramkissen Cuppersay	Acc't Silke	1326 4
8ber 11th, paid Kismaram Perma	on Acc't Silke	1212 5. 6
Xber 15th, paid Cheramdut	on Acc't Silke	1319. 15
22nd, paid ditto	on Acc't ditto	290 2
January 2, paid Kismaram Perma	on Acc't Silke	286 11

Upon all which evidence John Naylor was dismissed y^e Hon^{ble} Company's Service, and Ordered, if he will not oblige to leave Cassumbazar and go to Hugly, and give security to goe into England by y^e next^t shipping, all his goods and papers in our possession should be kept for y^e Company's use and our indemnity.

This day was presented a Petition of Allen Catchpoole, John Threder, Samuel Langley, George Pittman, & George Stone, complaining of one James Harding, a most turbulent, violent-spirited fellow, in the following words, viz.:

SHEWETH. That in y^e Factory of Cassumbazar there is one James Harding, a person who was formerly dismisi^t y^e Hon. Comp^ys Service for Blasphemy and Athisticall tenetts, and since he hath been here, hath evidenced himself to be a person of a most unquiett turbulent spiritt, having all along been a great disturber of y^e Peace and Quiet of y^e Factory, and hath often bred differences amongst us: and for y^e future we can hope no better from a Person of his irreligious and scandalous principles; he having lately been taken in Fornication with a slave wench of John Elliott's, as is attested and ready to be deposed on oath by George Pittman, one of your petitioners, and divers other misdemeanors y^e said James Harding hath committed. We do therefore humbly request your Wors^{hal}, &c., to take ye Premises into consideration, and ease us of this inconveniency: and that this our Petition may be entered into your Dyary. And your Petitioners shall pray &c.

ALLEN CATCHPOOLE

GEORGE PITTMAN

JOHN THREDER

GEORGE STONE.

SAM^z. LANGLEY

April 21.—Mr. Catchpoole's, &c., Petition was taken into consideration, and after full examination, and hearing all parties, James Harding was found Guilty of all that was alledged in y^e Petition, and ordered forthwith to be Dismis

y^e Hon^{ble} Company's Factory : but Intercession being made by Mr^r Charnock for his continuance with him some time, to help him draw out and transcribe his account, liberty was given him, y^e said Harding, to remain in y^e Factory till y^e 28th Instant.

April 22.—.....Was Sunday.

April 23.—.....I went to Muxadaved to visit Ray Bolchund, where I was received with all the respect that could possibly be shown me: and after awhile, taking me alone into a room, from Mr^r Charnock and y^e rest of y^e company, Bolchund began to profess y^e great respect and kindness he had allways for me; but that Mr^r Charnock had been so unjust and so unworthy in all his dealings with y^e people of y^e country, that he had not forbore calling him to Justice, and giving him trouble, but for my sake; and in expectation that I would come and doe them Justice myselfe, declaring farther that till Mr^r Charnock was turned out of y^e Hon^{ble} Company's Service their business would never be managed soe much to their advantage as otherwise it would: Assuring me that he knew Charnock to be a great Theife, not only to the Merchants and other natives of the country, but to his Masters also: his constant practice being to exact 2 Rupees on y^e hundred from y^e Weavers for pricing their Taffaties; and to sell y^e Company's goods: and buy light money, 5, 6 and 7 per cent. worse than current, which these poor fellows, rather than lose their present employment and livelihood, are forced to accept: which at last must of necessity redound to y^e Company's prejudice: and if for such faults as these, upon y^e testimony of more than 100 Witnesses, I should not now dismiss him y^e Comp^y' Service, I must leave their affaires here in a most distracted condition; and thank myselfe for all miscarriages that may chance to happen for y^e future.

To all which I returned Ray Bolchund my humble thanks; letting him know Mr^r Charnock was an old servant of y^e

Company, who had hitherto served to their good content; and without clear proof of his wronging y^e Company he could not be displaced; but if all he said appeared to be true, he should see I came hither to manifest my fidelity to my Hon^{ble}. Masters in y^e best manner I was able, without favour or affection to any man. With which he seemed satisfied: and so I took my leave and parted from him.

Returning home this evening to Cassumbazar, we were informed a great part of y^e Towne was burnt, with divers houses in our Factory, which coming out of y^e towne we found to be true: most of y^e houses towards Muxadavad to our Factory were quite destroyed. In y^e Factory were burnt all y^e Stables, Kitchen, Buttery, Throwster's rooms, with 5 Mills, besides divers other little thatched houses; and had not great diligence been used by Mr. Samuel Langley, y^e Silke and Tuffafty warehouses had been burnt, y^e Fire having twice caught hold of y^e Window, which was happily quenched by him. What is burnt will be at least 2000 Rupees damage to y^e Company.

April 24.—This afternoon an Inventory was ordered to be taken of all Mr. Naylor's goods, in his chamber, and in his chests; which upon examination were found to be only a little old trumpery, excepting one chest of Flint-Ware and another of China Ware: all he had of any value, together with his money, having been conveyed away 2 or 3 days before my arrivall at Cassumbazar. Mr. Charnock pretending 'twas all done without his knowledge, whereas y^e least Bundle of another man's goods cannot be carried out of y^e Factory without examination.

April 25.—We had a Consultation: Mr. Naylor entered into Bond of 1000 Rupees to depart y^e Service of Cassumbazar in 6 dayes; to go to Hugly; there to reside, and not to return to Cassumbazar without licence first granted to him by y^e Agent and Councell at Hugly.

Upon examination of y^e Company's Books, and considera-

tion of y^e great remains standing out in y^e Weavers' hands, it was Ordered—That no more Imprest money, or Dadney, should be given out to y^e Weavers; but y^e agreement should be made with a select number of y^e ablest merchants, to be bound for each other, in case of Mortallity, for all our Tassaties, &c., as y^e best expedient to prevent such bad debts in future.

This day I received letters from Englesavad advising me of M^r Samuel Anthony's death on y^e 23rd Instant, after 3 or 4 days sickness of a Feavour, occasioned by a Fistula in Ano. God Almighty prepare us all for our latter ends.

April 26.—In y^e morning I wrote letters to Hugly and Englesavad, and in y^e afternoon returned a visit to y^e Chief of y^e Dutch Factory, who received and entertained us with great kindness and respect.

April 27.—This morning M^r William Prickman and his Wife arrived from Hugly. They came to carry away all their things, and to returne in a few dayes to Hugly and thence to Ballasore, where he is ordered to be Second of a Factory.

April 28.—This day a great number of Silk Merchants and Weavers made their complaints against M^r Thredor and M^r Barker; that they, the said Thredor and Barker, tooke from them 4 or 5 tolas upon a Seer, over weight, on all their Silk brought into y^e Warehouse, besides one or two of y^e best Skeyns of Silk that was weighed, in every draught; which, amounting to a very considerable summe of Mony, they demanded satisfaction: Thredor and Barker positively denying y^e overweight, y^e Merchants proved it by their books, but y^e skeyne out of every draught was confess, and claimed as their due, having been always the custom. Proofs of overweight taken against them were as followeth:

Maniram Podar brought into ye Warehouse, via' Maunda	29	29	29
Product when weighed off	27	9	
Lost	2	14	
 Poncho Barrick brought into ye Warehouse in 9ber bund: ¹			
Produced	88	11	
Lost	84	7	
 In March bund: brought in			
Produced	98	9	5
Lost	91	27	
 In April bund: brought in 2 Parcells of			
Produced	88	6	44
Lost	82	37	
 Lost in all by one man			
Lost	5	9	44
	6	22	5
	4	4	
	15	35	49

The like losses in proportion were proffered to be proved by Ramchurne Podar, Benderabun Podar,² and Chamoo-bishwas, who produced their severall books for evidence.

May 1683.

ATT A CONSULTATION.

May 4.—Mr. John Thredreder and Mr. Richard Barker being conscious to themselves (as I conceive) of their owne guilt, and fearing they should be dismist y^e Hon^{ble} Company's employment, before any business begun, desired to be removed from this to some other Factory, pretending they

¹ Obscure; but "November bund", "March bund", etc., probably means "according to abstract for November", etc.—Y.

² *Podar* is a weig^hman, a cash-keoper.—Y.

could not live with any content where there were so many feuds and animosities, as at this place, amongst y^e Hon^{ble} Company's Servants; which request of theirs was taken into consideration, & Ordered, that they should be removed, according to their respective degrees and stations, as occasion offers.

* Mr Allen Catchpoole,¹ for y^e reasons aforesaid, desired also to be removed, which was granted, and leave given him to goe with me to Maulda, and from thence to Hugly.

May 6.—The Cazze of Muxadavad and Cassumbazar sent a kinsman of his with a present of fruite.

This morning Mr Naylor and Mr Elliott went to Hugly. In y^e afternoon there hap'ned another great fire, which destroyed a great number of houses at Cassumbazar.

I saw y^e Taffaties and Atlasses² in y^e warehouse, and gave directions concerning their severall colours and stripes, ordering Mr Charnock to use his best endeavours to encroase their quantity; y^e Hon^{ble} Company writing very earnestly for y^m this year; which I fear he will not be able to perform, by reason of y^e great prejudice y^e Weavers generally have received against him by taking 2 per cent. of them to price their goods favorably; and paying of them with light money as aforesaid, since his being Chief of Cassumbazar; If these Weavers should prove obstinate and not work for him, nor any of y^e able merchants deal with him as they assured me they would not, y^e Company will be exceedingly prejudiced by Mr Charnock's ill management of their business this year.

In Mr Charnock's Custody I saw divers paternes of good pieces of Prunella and other sorts of Silkes, as Black, Blew,

¹ Catchpoole, many years later, was President of the English Factory at Chusan, and, when that was broken up, Chief of a settlement established on the Island of Pulo Condore, where he was massacred, with other Englishmen, by their Macassar guard (1705).—Y.

² Satins.

Yellow, and Green Taffaties, most of them made by an English Weaver, who lived not to make a whole piece of Silke, but left y^e evident testimony behind him that excellent good Silkes, and consequently as great quantities as can be desired, may be provided and sent home from this country: as well as of raw Silke, to what number of bales y^e Hon. Comps shall think fit to order; if y^e chie^f of this place will use his diligence. I conceive, if 3 or 4 Master Weavers, and as many able Dyers, were sent out with 5 or 6 Boyes apiece to be their Apprentices, y^e trade of this place might be improved, to y^e Company's great advantage; or at least if y^e said Master Weavers and Dyers were but obliged for one or two years to instruct y^e Natives.

May 9.--About 5 o'clock this afternoon I departed from Cassumbazar, with designe (God Willing) to visit y^e factory at Englesavad; and lay this night about halfe way to Muxadavad.

May 10.--This morning early we arrived in Muxadavad, and understanding that Ray Nundeloll was brought thither very sick, I gave him a Visitt; who exprest much joy to see me, and desiring me to give him something that I thought might be good for his distemper. I gave him a small Vyall of Balme of Gilead, for which he was exceedingly thankfull, and desiring James Price to take a dose of it, in y^e Ganges water, which he did in his presence. The ceremony used by these Gentu's in their sicknesse is very strange; they bring y^e sick person (as they did this Ray Nundeloll) to y^e brinke of y^e River Ganges, on a Cott, under a small Tent; 2 men were constantly employed in holding and moistening his hands with water, a 3rd man dropt water, and stroaked it on his breast; and a 4th did y^e like on his belly. I left him in weake condition, spitting great gobbetts of blood.

In y^e afternoon I visited Bolchund, by whom I was courteously entertained.

This evening I left Muxadavad, and just as I passed by

Ray Nundeloll's Tent, I saw him lye halfe way in y^e Water, and that very mōruent he died. Order was immediately given to make preparation for his being burnt, and about 2 houres after we saw a great fire at Muxadavad, which we concluded to be his burning.

May 11.—We lay near y^e mouth of y^e Great River.

This night I despatched away James Price to Dacca, with divers Persian letters to y^e Nabob; to Abdell Suma, y^e Nabob's Duan; to Cassidas, Ray Nundeloll's "Peisdust";¹ to Emir Pussick, y^e Nabob's Master of y^e Ceremonies; to Boremull; to Codabux Chawn; to Mierza Mazuffer; to Gollobray;² & to Permanun, &c.

May 12.—About 6 in y^e morning we got int^e y^e great River, and by 9 we entered y^e River that leads to Maulda; and on y^e way discoursing with Mr. Catchpoole, he told me that once every 2 or 3 yeares Mr. Charnock was wont to pare away y^e inside of y^e Salt Petre Warehouse at Patana, and to Mr. Catchpoole's certain knowledge, one year Mr. Charnock sold 700 Maunds, which proved so good earth that it produced 500 maunds of Salt Petre.

This night we lay at Buglagotte, a place where Shaw Susa [*i.e.*, Shujā'] fought a great battle with his brother, y^e present Emperour Aureng Zeeb.³

May 13.—In y^e afternoon we arrived (God be Praised) in safety at y^e Hon. Comp. Factory at Englesavad.

May 14.—In y^e morning Mr. Hervy arrived at Englesavad.⁴

May 15.—We had a Consultation, wherein were read all y^e Hon. Comp. letters per y^e *Prudent Mary*, who arrived in

¹ *Pesh-dast* (Pers.), "an assistant"; properly, "surpassing, excelling".—Y.

² *I.e.*, Gūlāb Rāī.

³ Probably in 1659 (see *Elliot's Historians*, vii, 250). Aurangzib was not present.—Y.

⁴ See note at p. 71.

Ballaoore y^e 20th ult^{mo}, and confirmed M^r Harvy in his Chiefship of Englesavad. Mr. Sam^l. Anthony, 2nd of this Factory, being lately dead, my Nephew, Rob^t Hedges, was appointed 2nd in his place, and ordered to supply y^e place of 3rd also, till further directions from y^e Councell at Hugly.

This day I examined y^e remains in y^e Weavers' hands, which, when y^e Society went away, was 43,000 rup. and upwards; of which above 10,000 rup. are brought in, and [I] have hopes y^e greatest part of y^e debt will be recovered. However, for all good respects it was ordered that no more money for goods should be given out to any Weaver who had not paid for his "Remains"; and able Merchants taken in their places, who proffered themselves to deal with us for all our Investment: and their names were entered accordingly for that purpose.

✓ May 16.—I went to see y^e famous Ruins of a great City and Pallace of Gowre:¹ 'tis about 12 miles distant from y^e English Factory towards Cassumbazar. We sett out at 5 o'clock in y^e morning, and gott to y^e place by a quarter past 8. We spent 3½ hours in seeing y^e ruines, especially of y^e Pallace, which has been (as appears by y^e gates of it yet standing), in my judgement, considerably bigger and more beautifull than the Grand Seignor's Seraglio at Constantinople, or any other Pallace that I have seen in Europe.

The Building was chiefly of Brick; the arches of the Gates and many other places were of black marble, and other black hard stones to supply y^e want of it, which is exceeding rare and difficult to procure in this kingdome, there being not so much as one stone so big as a man's fist to be seen in this country nearer than Rajamaul. At 12 o'clock we repaired

¹ Gour. For its present state see *Gaur*, by J. H. Ravenshaw, B.C.S., 1878; and General Cunningham, in *Archol. Survey*, vol. xv, pp. 39-76.—Y.

to a garden within a mile of the Ruins, where we reposed ourselves and Servants till 5 at night, and then returned to y^e Factory, extremely well satisfied with our diversion. We were in all, besides myself and wife, Mr. Sam^{ll}. Hervy, Mr. Joseph Dodd, Mr. W^m. Johnson, my Nephew, Robert Hedges, Mr. W^m. Rushworth, and Mr. W^m. Jolland.

May 17.—Between 9 and 10 o'clock at night I left y^e Factory of Englesavad, and proceeded towards Hugly, having been visited and accompanied aboard y^e Budgera by y^e Dutch chief, his second, and another young man of their Factory at Mauldn.

May 19.—We lay at Colcapore.

May 20.—It blew so very fresh at South that we were forced to track our boat till 4 in the Afternoon, when we saw a great black cloud arise out of y^e North with much lightning and thunder, which made our Mangee or Steerman advise us to fasten our boat in some Creeke, which we did in y^e next we came to, and no sooner fixed than a most violent gust of wind and rain mett us, which lasted but $\frac{3}{4}$ of an hour, and then y^e wind came about at South. The night continuing very darke, we lay still till towards morning, and then made y^e best of our way.

May 21.—We lay at a place called Revi, under Wooderay y^e Gemidar.

May 23.—At 7 this morning we gott to y^e English Garden. About 8 Mr. Beard and y^e greatest part of y^e English mett us. At 11 we got to the Factory, all in good health, for which mercy y^e Lord make us thankfull.

May 24.—Upon my return to Hugly, I was informed that Mr. Beard and Mr. William Prickman had each of them bought parts in a Ship and Cargo with Mr. Douglas, and sent her to y^e Maldivas for Cowries, which has much countenanced Interlopers. Besides, Mr. Beard knew of Mr. Dowglass's lading a parell of Sapan wood out of a Ship of

his that came from Syam, on board of y^e Interloper *Prudent*, one of Pitts Vessels (being told it by Capt. Raynes when I was at Ballasore), and took not y^e least notice, nor informed me of it, till I was told it by Capt. Raynes in like manner. How this and such like actions will be resented in England, Time must discover.

Capt. Lake, of y^e *Prudent Mary*, is an intimate friend of M^r. Beard, and by his example a great favourer of y^e Interlopers; he has lately traded with M^r. Nedham for a considerable parcell of goods, which I am assured is true: y^e mony being paid to him, for y^e Captain, by M^r. Catchpoole, who told me of it. I am the rather induced to believe it true, in regard M^r. James Watson farther informed me that he heard Capt. Lake declare "if he did not like y^e Company's employment this voyage, he would turne Interloper y^e next".

ATT A CONSULTATION.

After reading y^e Hon^{ble} Comp^y letters per y^e *Prudent Mary*, all y^e Treasure on said ship was ordered to be forthwith sent to y^e Mint to be Coyned.

Ordered M^r. Lyttleton, M^r. Nedham, and M^r. Dowglass to be sent to meet at y^e Councell Chamber at 4 in y^e Afternoon.

Ordered that M^r. James Watson be sent to Cassumbazar according to y^e Honorable Company's Orders.

Ordered M^r. Charles Cudworth, third of Maulda; M^r. Joseph Safford, assistant to M^r. Beard in y^e accountants office; M^r. Charles Sydenham be sent to Cassumbazar, under M^r. Charnock; and that George Stone come from thence in his place; and like-wise that a message be sent to M^r. Francis Ellis to bid him depart y^e Factory.

M^r. Ellis was this morning ordered to leave y^e Factory; who about 4 in y^e Afternoon sent a message to me and Councell to have an order under our hands for his

departure, which was immediately granted in these following words:

M^r. Francis Ellis,

You having been dismissed y^e Hon^{ble} Comp^y's Service for your Infidelity, you are therefore hereby required on Monday y^e 28th Instant to take all your goods out, and leave their Factory, for better accommodation of your Successor.

W^m. HEDGES

JOHN BEARD

JOSEPH DODD

W^m. JOHNSON

RICH^{PD}. FRENCHFEILD.

May 28.—About 9 this morning M^r. Littleton, M^r. Nedham, & M^r. Douglass came to y^e factory, and being sent for, were asked "Whether they did now, or ever intended, directly or indirectly, to trade with any Interlopers that shall arrive in the Bay of Bengall?"

M^r. Littleton answered, that "he did not, nor ever intended to trade with any Interloper".

X M^r. Nedham answered, "that at present he did not, but that he came out to gett money, and if any such offer should happen, he would not refuse it".

M^r. Douglas answered, he did not, nor ever intended to trade with them: but said "what Estate he should gett here he would not scruple to send it home upon any Interloper". And having given their respective answers they were dismissed.

In y^e Evening, M^r. Ellis, according to y^e foregoing order, left the Factory.

May 29 (Death of Mrs. Richards).—Received a Gen^l. from M^r. Byam of 22nd Inst. advising y^e death of M^r. Richards on y^e 20th ditto [see under page March 21].

About 4 in y^e Evening M^r. W^m. Prickman, with his family, took their passage on y^e Sloop *Lily* for Belgaum, with whom M^r. John Nevins likewise proceeded, having promised never to deal with Interlopers.

Late at night came into y^e Factory a Sergeant and 2 Souldiers, who came from Fort St. George on a small vessel of y^e Hon^{ble} Company's called y^e *Conumeer*, who ran aground in the River Ganges. They advise that 3 of their Comrades went ashore for fresh water about Pipley, but came not off again, and are not yet heard of: y^e rest of them intended to leave the Sloop, and come overland to Hugly.

May 30.—Ordered Mr. Francis Davenport to goe and find out y^e Sloop *Conumeer*, and Pilote her up to Hooghly.

June 1683.

June 4.—The Sloop *Conumeer*, on board of whom the Souldiers came from Madrass, being found out by Mr. Davenport, her Pilote, arrived before y^e factory.

June 5.—Received a Gen^{ll}. from Ballasore dated y^e 28th ult^o advising the three Souldiers reported to have gone ashore at Pipley for fresh Water, &c., were put ashore at Point Palmeras, and arrived in their Factory.

June 6.—Received a Gen^{ll}. from Dacca of y^e 30th past, advising that Gollob Ray, a merchant there, and our security to y^e Nabob and King's Duan, on whome they had a Bill of Exchange for Rupees 10,000, refused payment, saying he was to demand more of us, Rupees 23,900.

ATT A CONSULTATION.

June 7.—Having received advices from our Vaqueel at Dacca that Gollob Ray had promised y^e Nabob 30,000 rupess more than the former agreement, if a Phirmaund should be procured to excuse us from payment of Custome. In consideration that it is now done, and all y^e Hon^{ble} Comp^{ny} concerned likely to return to y^e same or within fifteen days, and were in y^e last year, (A.D. 1682) Gollob Ray to demand payment of the same, and to be paid by the Nabob.

places, and that Mr. Pownsett become oblig'd for y^e Payment of y^e 30,000 Rup. upon delivery of y^e Phirmaund.

ATT A CONSULTATION.

June 9.—Ordered Mr. Joseph Dod, Chief; Mr. Samuel Meverall, Second; and Mr. James Sowdon, Third of Pottana Factory; and that Mr. Dodd and Mr. Sowden proceed thither with all convenient speed.

ATT A CONSULTATION.

June 11.—Mr. John Threder and Mr. Richard Barker having formerly made an address to be removed from Cassumbazar Factory to some other, by reason of y^e Contentions and Animosityes among them in that place, affirming that they believed they should live much quieter in some other Factory, their requests were this day confirmed, with a promise that they should be employed in y^e first vacancy that happens in any other Factory, according to their respective degrees and standings; and it is ordered, that in place of Mr. Threder Mr. W^m. Rushworth succeed as Warehouse keeper, and that Mr. John Hains be assistant to Mr. Rushworth.

ATT A CONSULTATION.

June 14.—Mr. Byam having often desired in his letters that a Third might be ordered to Ballasore Factory: it was thought fitt that Mr. Henry Stanly be appointed Third, and that Mr. Leouard Bray be sent thither to assist in Copying.

Ordered Mr. W^m. Johnson, third of this Factory, and that he forthwith take y^e charge of y^e Warehouse of Mr. Dodd; and Nath. Letten to be Secretary in y^e place of Mr. Rushworth.

Ordered—That y^e Councell of Cassumbazar consist of Mr. Job Charnock, Chief; Mr. Jeremiah Peachje, Second; And

Mr. Willm. Rushworth, Third; and that no other act as of
Councell there.

June 16.—In y^e Evening, Mr. Perks, Supracargo of y^e *William & John*; Capt. Read, Commander; and y^e Chy-
rurgion, Mr. Waldo, arrived in Hughly—Interlopers.

ATT A CONSULTATION.

June 20.—Muttradas, Roganaut, & Ramnarrain made complaint that Mr. Ellis had detained several sums of money and goods from them, which they pretended to have given him to pass their goods by this last shipping: and gave in y^e particulars, viz.:

	RUPES.	RS.
Muttradas paid him, in ready money	600	
do. In Romalls & Hummums, at severall times	700	
Together		1800
Rognaut paid him in pieces, 8/8, ¹ 500, valued at	1010	
10 Pieces of Malmulls	92	
4 Pieces of Garrah	6	
2 Pieces of Malmulls	26	
2 Pieces of Malmulls	20	
1 Piece of Malmull, 19	18	
1 Piece of Raiglins, 8	8	
		1175
Ramuarain, Jany. 15th, paid in cash	100	
do. 21st	800	
20 yards of Charkonnas	120	
1 Piece of Malmull	13	
3 Pieces Dooreas	18	
2 Pieces Lungli [Lungi?] ²	4	
		1055
		3580

Mr. Ellis appeared, and denied y^e greatest part of their demands, only confessing he had received y^e 500 pieces of

¹ Pieces 8/8, i.e., dollars.

² *Bomals, Hunhums, Mulmuls, Garrahs, Charconnas, Dorens, Loonghees*, all continued in the lists of Bengal piece-goods as long as the trade lasted. *Raiglins* is probably an error. *Raiings*, a kind of muslin, are in Milburn's lists.—Y.

8/8, and some pieces of cloath, affirming likewise that he had paid Rogonaut Rupees 1000 in part of payment for y^e Dollers. At last, after a long debate, y^e Merchants agreed that, M^r Ellis swearing to every particular, what he denied they would clear him of; which being declared to M^r Ellis, he desired time to consider of it—till ye next morning.

June 22.—We hear that y^e Governor hath invited y^e Interlopers up to this place, & for their better accommodation hath furnished them with an House near y^e Dutch Factory.

Having advice by a Dutch Sloop that arrived this morning from Ballasore, that 2 English Ships were arrived there, the Ketches were immediately dispatched to bring up what treasure they have on board.

June 23.—M^r W^m. Rushworth, M^r James Watson, M^r Charles Cudworth, M^r John Haynes, & M^r Charles Sydenham departed hence to their places in y^e several Factories allotted them by consultation.

June 24.—By M^r Naylor, who arrived this morning from Ballasore upon a Dutch Sloop, I had information of y^e *Lilly's* being cast away on Ballasore Bar, as also that y^e 2 ships in Ballasore Road were Surrat Ships from y^e Maldivia Islands, with Cowries, &c.

ATT A CONSULTATION.

June 25.—Letters from M^r Charles Cross and James Price, our Vaqueel at Dacca, were read, advising of y^e Nabob's refusing to write to y^e King a second time in our behalfe, for a Phirnaund for non-payment of Custome, for reasons unknown to them. Whereupon it was ordered to be written by me in Persian to y^e Nabob.

Ordered M^r Francis Ellis be sent to, to meet at y^e Councell Chamber at 9 of y^e clock y^e next morning, to answer y^e demands made on him by y^e Merchants.

ATT A CONSULTATION.

June 26.—Mr. Ellis appearing before y^e Councell, was informed that y^e Merchants, upon taking his Oath of what money he saith he hath paid them, and what received of them, were contented to remit their demands, it being a business without which there can be no determination, there being only his Yea, and their Nay, Refused to take his Oath, unless there might be a recompence made him by y^e Merchants for y^e loss of his Employment, and y^e Damage he has otherwise sustained; and it being farther desired that he show his books of account, where y^e payments and receipts are written, he pretended that he could not come at them at that time.

A letter written by my Order in Persian to y^e Nabob was read, approved of, and agreed to be sent.

July 1683.

July 1.—The Ship *Britannia*, belonging to M^r Dowglass, &c^a, from y^e Malediva Islands, arrived before y^e Factory, bringing advice of y^e *Charles* (a Ship belonging to y^e Hon^{ble} Company) arrivall there: and that at their first going ashore, their first salutation from y^e Natives was a shower of Stones and Arrows, whereby 6 of their Men were wounded, which made them immediately return on board, and by y^e Mouths of their Guns forced them to a complyance, and permission to load what Cowries they would at Markett Price: so that in a few dayes time they sett sayle from thence for Surat, with above 60 Tunn of Cowryes.

ATT A CONSULTATION.

July 2.—A particular letter from y^e President of Surratt to my selfe was showed to y^e Councell: wherein was intimated that one Thomas Haggerston, taken by y^e said President into his Service, was run away with a considerable quantity of Gold and Pearle, to y^e amount of above

50,000 Rupees, intrusted to him at Bushera and Cong,¹ to bring to Surrat, to save Freight and Custom. Desiring me, if he shold chance to arrive at Bengala, to seize on his person and estate, and to send him to Surratt on y^e first ship; the President being likely to come to trouble about him. And being informed that y^e said Haggerston was arrived at Ballasore, in a ship belonging to one M^r Burton, 'twas thought convenient that advice and order be immediately given to M^r Byam, & co^s, at Ballasore to seize upon him; and fearing that Burton may be in the Conspiracy, 'twas Ordered, "That an Eye be kept over him, that if he should absent himself he may be seized on likewise".

July 8.—Received a Gen^l. from Ballasore advising y^e death of M^r John Byam, and y^e arrivall of three English Ships in that Road y^e 3rd Inst^{nt}; viz., y^e *Herbert*, y^e *Henry William*, and y^e *Hare*.

AT A CONSULTATION.

July 9.—Copy of y^e Compr^r's gen^l. letter per y^e *Herbert* (received by y^e *Hare*), dated y^e 15th November 1682, was read: which by a positive order has made M^r Richard Barker, Second; M^r Charles Cudworth, Third; and M^r James Watson, Fourth of Councell in Cassumbazar; which was confirmed accordingly.

The Trust and business of the Mint being very great, and having advice of M^r James Smith's death, it was taken into consideration to send a person to take charge of y^e same, which M^r Hell, and my Nephew Hedges, Second of Maulda, which is near Rajamul, being a person very fitt for such an employment, was made Chief of that place, and ordered to continu his Secondship of Maulda, and repair thither when

¹ Cong, or Congo-bender (*Kunk-bandar*), formerly a flourishing port on the N. shore of the Persian Gulf, about 100 miles W. of Bandar-Abbás. It was a mart for pearls (see *Fryer's Travels into Persia*, ch. x).—Y.

occasion permits to look after y^e Books, and to have men to assist him in keeping ye same.

Ordered likewise, That a writer be sent to copy out ye accounts of Rajamaul; and that convenienties be hired for their habitation, or that they repair the house they now live in, fitt to accommodate y^e Comp^y Servants; and keep y^e Dust and Lead in y^e Mintage.

July 11.—By order of Consultation, Parmessuradass, our Chief Customer [Comptroller of Customs], was presented with Rup. 1500 Sicca, and to y^e value of 500 r. more in Broad Cloath, and 300 Rs. more distributed among his officers, for his Civility in passing our Talicas,¹ or Bills of Entry for Customs.

July 15.—Y^e two Ships, y^e *Henry and William* and y^e *Hare*,—arrived before y^e Factory.

Received a letter from Capt. Brenock, Commander of y^e Ship *Kent*, dated y^e 9th Inst., advising of said Ship's arrival in Balasore Road from Tywan and Batavia, and that they had severall goods on board, on account of y^e Hon^{ble} Comp^y, and fearing she may want repair, having been 2 years out of England, and never out of y^e Water, desires orders either for her coming up to this place, or going into Bellasore River, thinking it dangerous for her (being but a small Ship) to ride out y^e Monsoon there.

July 16.—Wrote to Patana, ordering them to buy up all y^e Salt Petre they can, to hinder y^e Interlopers from having any and all other goods procureable at that place.

July 18.—Received letters from Dacca, of y^e 7th and 11th Inst., advising that James Price (though with much difficulty) had at last prevailed with the Nabob to write to y^e King's Vizer in our behalf, in favor of nonpayment of Customs (copy of wth letter is hereafter written), and that he hopes to procure Phirwannas to let our Goods pass on our Talicas, as they did last year. Gollobray demands of us a large sum

of mony to be deposited in his hands, to continue your security for this following Year, saying that he was our Security till y^e time of 7 Months was expired (for which he had Rup. 20,000 in his hands); which time being long since at an end, and above 18,000 Rup. due upon our Tallicas, given till he had a greater sum in his hands, he could not procure us any Phirwanna. They also sent Copy of y^e Duan's Phirwanna to Bulchurnd, to demand Custome of us for all our last year's goods; and if we deny it, to send our Tallicas thither, where he will demand it of our Security. James Price desires that when they demand said Custome of us, we lett them send up our Tallicas; and when y^e Duan demands it of our Security, he hopes, by y^e Nabob's means, to get it delayed till y^e King has returned his Answer to y^e Nabob's letter.

Nabob Shauste Cawn's letter to y^e Visier in our favour for procury of a Phirmaund¹ on our paying 3000 rup. yearly Piscash. In English, viz.:

"Your particular letter and Husbull Hookum² which you favored me with concerning y^e business of y^e English, I

¹ Phirmaund; Firmaun, etc., i.e. (Pers.) *farmān*, a mandate. Stewart, in the Appendix to his *History of Bengal* (4to., Lond., 1813), gives the following report from Surat to the East India Company at home, but not the text of the Firman:

Extract of a letter from WILLIAM METHWOLD, Surat, dated February 21st, 1638.

"The 2nd Present, we received from Agra the King's Firmand [Shah Jehan's], which gives liberty of trade unto us in his whole Country of Bengala, but restrains our Shipping only unto the Port of Piply: which Firmand was sent unto us by a servant of our own which was despatched unto Agra."

By the Neshau[n] [Nishān], or letters patent, of Sultan Shah Shujā [i.e., Shah Shujā' Nawāb of Bengal, second son of Shah Jehān], dated A.D. 1666 (A.D. 1656), in the twenty-eighth year of Shah Jehān's reign, a notice is given to "All Governors, Farmers of Rents and of Custome, Captains, Watchmen, &c., that the English Company's Goods are, by the Great

² Properly (Ar.) *Haab-ul-hukm*, 'according worder', the initial formula of a document issued in royal authority; 'under his order' (see p. 112).

received in good time: which, in compliance to y^e King's orders, was to this effect:

"Understand what Custome y^e English paid formerly, and Emperor's Letters, Custom Free over all his Empire"; and an order was issued "that the Factory of the English Company be no more troubled with demands of Custom for goods, imported or exported"; that "They were not to be molested about anchorage dues; and that where ever they have order to build Factories or Warehouses, they be not hindered, but forwarded." In fact, if this Nishan is correctly translated, it granted the most perfect freedom of trade.

Again, in June 1672 (A.H. 1086), the Nawab Shaista Khan of Bengal and Orissa confirmed these privileges, and granted distinct freedom to boats, ships, and goods from "Ballasore to Hugly, Cossimbazar, or Patana"—"Customs Free, without any demands whatsoever"—saltpetre included, which was then much in demand at home. The Emperor Aurungzebe had then been fourteen years on the throne. But the English complained that great exactions were, nevertheless, claimed from them, and that, instead of an annual present of 3000 rupees, they were "taxed like Hindoos".

In A.D. 1680 (A.H. 1091), a new Firmán came out: "In the name of God, Amen. To all present and future rulers in Surat that remain in hopes of the Emperor's favor:

"Be it known, that at this happy time it is agreed, of the English Nation, besides their usual custom of 2 per cent, for their goods, more 1½ Jezia, or poll money, shall be taken.

"Wherefore it is commanded, *That in the said place*, from the first day of Shuvaal, in the 28th year of our reign, of the said People, 3 and a half per cent, of all their goods, on account of Custom and Poll-money, *be taken for the future*. *And at all other places*, upon this account, let no one molest them for custom, rawdarree, peashous, phirnaish, and other matters by the Emperor's Court forbidden, nor make any demands in these particulars. Observe. Written on the 23rd day of the month Suffer, in the year 23."

Stewart gives (p. 540) various translations of the (Persian) Firmáns subsequently granted, and all of them apparently of a very liberal character; but regarding the last Firmán over leaf, about which many disputes took place at the sentence "*And at all other places*", I can hardly wonder at it being misread, if, as I understand, the flowing Persian of the period was written *without stops of any kind*, and if the "Armenian" or other foreign translators (none of the Company's servants at that time understanding Persian) inserted stops at their own discretion in the English.

Ex. Gr. The original Firmán may simply have meant that *at Surat*,

compare ye difference between that and our last order for taking Custome, and Judgea.¹ If they pay no more than they did formerly, they complain without occasion; if more, write what it is, and there shall be an abatement.'

"In answer whereto I reply, formerly they paid only 3000 rup. yearly Piscash, in Hugly, and never any thing on account of Custome; and now, by what y^e King orders and demands, 'twill amount to much more this season. They complain, and not without a cause; they having a Phirmand, and Hodgee Sophee Cain's Perwanhas thereon, in their hands, which denied them thereof, and to pay Custome now they will not consent, but will rather withdraw their trading. Wherefore their desire is that for 3000 rup. Piscash (as they paid formerly in HUGLY), and 2000 r. more yearly on account of Judgea, which they are willing to pay, they may on that condition have a grant to be Custome Free; goe on chearfully and quietly with their Merchandise, and warme their Heads with their Trade. For y^e Commodities they buy in this Country and Export, the Custom is paid by y^e Seller; for ye goods they Import, the Custom is paid by y^e Buyer; and for y^e Silver and Gold they bring out of their Country, they pay 3½ per cent. Coynage at y^e Mint: soe that no Custom is lost to the King hereby. Pray acquaint y^e King hereof, and according as he orders returne an answer."

July 20.—Sent letters to Dacca, ordering them that if James Price assures them he has made an agreement with y^e *and at all other places*, 3½ per cent. was to be charged for customs and poll money for the future, and nothing more.

But if the translator put a full stop, *improperly*, after the words "be taken for the future", and made the next sentence a fresh one, "And at all other places, upon this account", he misled the Company to believe that the 3½ per cent. gross was to be charged *only at Surat*, and that merchandise was to be free "*at all other places*" in the Emperor's dominions—a widely different matter.—R. F. B.

Mr. Hedges came out to take office in Bengal just when the difficulty appears to have become troublesome.

¹(Ar.) *Jizya*: the poll-tax which Mosleme law imposes on the non-Moslem.—*T.*

Nabob for his writing a second time in our favor to y^e King, to give him 5000 rupees in his hand for himself and his officers, and to pay y^e said sum to whomsoever James Price shall direct. And also that they become obliged to Gollobray or any other person for payment of 25,000 rup. more, upon receipt of a Phirmand from y^e King to excuse us from Custome.

I had some discourse with M^r James Harding who being in hopes of admission⁴ into y^e Company's Service, confessed to me very freely that all y^e accusations laid against M^r Thredder, concerning y^e great gains and advantage he makes by overweight of Silke, was certainly true, and often complained of by y^e Merchants to M^r Charnock, who always past it by, and took no notice of it.

M^r Harding farther informed him, that y^e relation given me at Cassumbazar of y^e 5 bales of silke proffered to be sold to y^e Company (which was produced, of over weight of silke gained from y^e Merchants) was certainly true, and complained of to M^r Charnock, who at first seemed concerned, but soon passed it over. That he was not so confident or well assured of M^r Barker's infidelity as he was of M^r Thredder's, but this much he knew, that all the business of the Warehouse was done and performed by M^r Barker, and that he had heard there was a certain agreement between Thredder and Barker, the latter being to receive a certaine sum in lieu of all profits; and was confident that Barker was no such fool as to hold his tongue without a considerable advantage.

Continuing my discourse with y^e said M^r Harding, I desired to know y^e reason why M^r Charnock was so cross to me, & thwarting every thing I proposed or did for y^e Hon^{ble} Compy's service? who replied, " M^r Charnock had no other reason for his soe doing, but that he looked upon himself as obliged by you at your first arrivall, for not turning out M^r Catchpoole at his request, and was therenpon resolved to blast and frustrate all our actions & proceedings as much as

⁴ Re-admission (see April 21st).

he could, and never to councell or assist you more as long as he lived."

July 25.—Received letters from Dacca, viz., one from y^e Nabob, advising that he had wrote to y^e King a second time in our behalfe about our Customes, and hoped to recieve an answer according to our desires.

Another from y^e Chief and Councell, advising that y^e King's Duan could not be brought to lett our Tallicas pass—till y^e King's answer to y^e Nabob's letter be recev'd—without payment of y^e last year's custome.

And another from Gollobray, intimating that he had not received y^e 5000 rup. ordered to be paid him by Mr. Pownsett; nor y^e obligation for y^e 25,000 rup. more, on receipt of a Phirmannd Custome free.

July 26.—Dispeced letters for Dacca, ordering them that if they had not paid y^e 5000 ru. promised y^e Nabob, upon his writing a second letter to y^e King, and obliged themselves for payment of 25,000 ru. more, upon receipt of a Phirmannd to pass our goods custome free, they should forbear doing either of them, having agreed with Gollobray to pay y^e 5000 ru. here, and that I would become obliged for y^e payment of y^e other 25,000 ru. more, upon receipt of y^e Phirmannd. And desired them to use their utmost endeavors to persuade y^e King's Duan not to demand Custome of us till y^e King returns his answer to y^e Nabob's letter.

July 27.—Received advices from Dacca, dated y^e 19th inst., that y^e King's Duan had demanded of them 8000 Rupees on account of remains of last year's Tallicas (Bulchund having formerly received 10,000), ordering his Peasdast to see it suddenly paid in to y^e King's Guzzanna¹ where upon y^e Chief went to y^e Duan's (to see if the presence of an Englishman would availe any thing), intending to desire him to stay till they had answere from hence (whither they had written) about this business; or to prevale with him not to force it

¹ *Peshdast*, see note, p. 87; "Guzzanna" for *khazána*, 'treasury'.

from us *there*, but to send our Tallicas to Bulchund, that he might demand it of us *here*, where y^e said Tallica was taken. But when he came to y^e Duan's, and had sent to let him know that he was there to wait on him, answer was returned him that if he came about the above mentioned Business, "he might goe from whence he came": & could by no means get admittance, so was forced to returne home with his Business unexecuted.

July 28.—This day my Servant, Samuel Pressey, departed this life, after 6 or 7 days continuall Flux and Fever; and this day it pleased God to visit me with a Fever.

July 29.—Received Advices from Fort St. George, dated 30th ult., of y^e New London's arrivall there, with 3 Interlopers, viz., Alley in y^e Lumbly Castle, Smith in y^e Constantinople Merchant, and Aubany in y^e [], which last passed by towards y^e Northward. All of them designe to doe what they can upon y^e Coast, and afterwards come downe hither.

August 1683.

August 1.—Letters from Cassumbazar advise y^e death of M^r William Rushworth on y^e 28th ult^o, after 3 dayes sickness, of a continuall fever.

August 7.—This day it pleased God to free me of my fever which has continued on me these 10 days.

August 8.—Received a Gen^{ll}. from Dacca of 25th ult^o advising that notwithstanding their great care and pains about a Phirmaund to clear our business at Rajamaul Mint, y^e King's Duan remains obstinate, saying he will not alter what was done by his Predecessor; which they understand was to pay 4 per cent. Also that James Price had told them, that for all his owne pleadings with y^e King's Duan, and divers others who spoke in our behalfe (nay, y^e very Nabob himselfe), he could not prevail with him to stay for Custome, till answer to what y^e Nabob wrote concerning us to y^e King was

received; but has sent his Phirwanna to Bulchund, to demand it of us here.

August 22.—Mr. Richard More, one that came out a Writer on y^e *Herbert*, left this world, for a better. Y^e Lord prepare us all to follow him! Received a letter from my Nephew, Robert Hedges, at Rajanaul, dated 10th inst., advising his arrivall there, and entering upon his charge.

August 24.—Wrote to Cassumbazar, ordering them to take up what money they can procure at Interest, till such time as they can be supplyed from y^e Mint: that they may be going on with their Investment, and that they be sending downe their goods as fast as they can get them ready.

August 25.—Wrote to Fort St. George, giving them a full account of affaires here, and desiring them to build us 2 Sloops of about 25 Ton apiece, with Smack Sailes.

August 26.—Received a letter from my Nephew, Rob^t. Hedges, dated 19th Instant, desiring y^e Second's place of Englesavad might be disposed of to some other Person, the place wherein he is requiring more than ordinary diligence; and advising of Mr. Thomas Hills being desperately sick and past recovery.

AT A CONSULTATION.

August 27.—My Nephew's letter was read, and his request granted. Mr. Jeremiah Peachie was made 2nd of Englesavad, and Mr. Nicholas Davenant, Third of that Factory, instead of Mr. Charles Cud-worth, who by y^e Hon^{ble} Company is ordered to Cassumbazar.

Mr. Charnock, in his Diary in June last, makes a note of y^e 5th of that mouth, that news was brought him that Bulchund's Servant had stopped 3 boats of Treasure with my Dustick or pass, the seals not being legible. Mr. Charnock certifies this dustick was mine; and the Treasure belonged to the Company. However, Bulchund sent him word, that for the future he would let no boates whatsoever belonging to the English pass his Chouky or Watch house at Muxadavad

without the chief Dustick of Cassumbazar. I consider Mr. Charnock did this on purpose to lessen my esteeme at home with y^e Company (he knows he cannot doe it here), to show that the Chief of Cassumbazar's. Dustick is in greater esteeme with y^e Government (though inveterate enemies) than mine.

This caused me to write to Bulchund, to know the truth of the Diary note, who returned answer he was not soe Ignorant in the affaires of the world but that he very well knew I was y^e Chiefe in Bengall; assured me my Dustick had, and should always, pass with greater respect and freedom than any other person's whatsoever, and to that purpose had given orders to all his Choukies to observe it accordingly.

ATT A CONSULTATION.

August 31.—Ordered that the Copper that came by the *Kent* from Batavia be delivered to y^e Merchants on account of Dadny at r. 12 ann, per Maund, it being more by 3 per cent. that can be sold for ready money.

Ordered that 5000 rupees be paid to Gollobray's Gomasta for his master's account, so much being paid by him to y^e Nabob and Officers on his writing to y^e King in our behalfe for a Phirmaund, and that the Agent give his obligation for 25,000 ru. more, to pay to Gollobray on the receipt of the King's Phirmaund, custom free.

September 1683.

September 2.—Captain Udall told me Mr. Ellis, at their being together at Cassumbazar, advised him to come out y^e next Voyage as Interloper, and to let him be concerned with him. Farther, y^e said Capt. informed me, goeing into y^e Silke, Warehouse at Cassimbazar, he saw them weighing Silke and take a Skeyne out of every draught; and espying a bag with Silke, into which they put the said Skeynes, demanded whether that was the sweeping of the Warehouse?—to which he was answered by M^r. Threder and Watson, "They are small perquisites and profit belonging to y^e Warehouse Keeper."

Being exceedingly troubled that the Company's Servants in y^e severall Factories in the Bay were all in generall soe unkind and disrespectful to me, more than to Agent MASTER,¹ who was nothing near so respectfull and civill to them, and desiring of an old Standard what might be the reason of it? [he] readily replied, "We were all affraid of Agent Master. He had power to turne any of us out of our place. You have not. We are now all placed by the Company, as well as yourselfe, otherwise Mr. Master would have found lesse respect amongst us than you have done." Which I am sure is soe little that till it be otherwise, the Company's Concerns will never be managed to their best advantage. Mr. Cudworth and Mr. Watson can now brag and give out that their Friends are so powerfull at home, they are confident no man dare doe them any prejudice.

June 7 Mr. Pownsett was ordered to become oblidged to Goolobray for the payment of Ru. 30,000 upon delivery of a Phirmaund, but refused to doe it, or so much as to speak or intercede for us to y^e King's Duan at Decca, saying he was afraid he should be imprisned for the money.

Said Mr. Pownsett stuffed his Diarys with false Stories, & said he presented Rupees 9 and 1 gold Mohure to the Fousdar of Hugly, and 10 Ru. to his Servant—when y^e said Fousdar never takes a present of any man,—and presents wine to those that never drinke any.

Mr. Ellis bragged to Capt. Minching, telling him "You shall see what a man I shall be in 9 months time, I shall be above them all"—speaking of me. Mr. Beard and Mr. Evans (the minister) keep an intimate and great correspondence with Mr. Naylor, & soe they doe with most of the Interlopers' Party.

¹ Streynsham Master, Governor of Madras, 1677-1681. "MASTER—Dec. 31, 1878, at the Rectory, Chorley, Lancashire, the Rev. James Streynsham Master, M.A., Rector of Chorley, and Hon. Canon of Manchester, aged 80 years." It is curious to find the old family name so many years after.

September 5.—Received advices from Rajamaul, dated 31st ult., advising of Mr. Thomas Hill's departure out of this world, about 10 of the clock the same morning; and that the next day they would send me about 25,000 Ru. per boate.

Received the following letter from Mr. Samuel Langley:

“Cassimbazar, 3rd 7th 1683.

“S^r.—The contents of the following lines are only a short declaration of the many abuses received from M^r Watson, and to justify my selfe how little I have deserved any from him.

“On the 28th Ultimo M^r Watson, in the Faffaty Warehouse, without any provocation, called me Pittyfull Prodigall Scrivan, and told me my hatt stood too high upon my head, as Capt. Raynes can manifest, and at the same time he challenged me to fight, with domincering Language; and that too often repeated by him: which was sufficient cause and provocation enough to answer him in the same kind; but upon consideration that he was my superior, and of Councell too, I thought it more prudent to letf it fall at y^r time, and not returne two to his two-hundred words. But his incivility ceased not for all this my Submission to him, but so soon as I came out of the Warehouse, he abused me againe, and said, ‘Come. Lett us goe on t'other side of the River, and there try y^r businesse’; and in these words said, ‘Capt. Raynes! Will you be his Second?’ which, whether or no were civill to challenge, especially a stranger, I leave to your breast to decide. M^r Haynes severall times, as well as M^r Sydenham and M^r Seere, has heard him say to me these Words, ‘If you will not goe out of your Chamber (which I had per a Gen^l letter), I will turn you out, and make you know my power’, which whether it were soe great as to doe that, I leave others to Judge: but this was unkinly and imprudently done of him, by reason they were not to be his; and I never denying the resignation of them to M^r Thredre, as he will speake (though I might till he had them per same power), as he was my Superior, and soe of consequence his due; and being unwilling to raise a dispute, though I often told M^r Watson, in hearing of M^r Haynes, that so soon as the other Chambers were ready I would remove that very minute, but he was too severe, and would make me remove before the floor of the first room was laid, all y^r workmen being then at work upon it; and how, both at the open table and in M^r Charnock's room, he abused Capt. Raynes, and how sharply he severall times took Capt. Udall up, I refer you to him for a relation of y^r same.

“He in the Room, called me Sircash, and said, ‘If you speak another word, I will give you a Slap of the Face’; and at the same time told Capt. Raynes ‘he was more a Merchant than he a sailor’.

M^r Haynes, and selfe can testify ; and how M^r Barker, in rude language, gave Capt. Udall y^e lye in M^r Charnock's room, with other affrontes.

" The foul play Capt. Raynes has received from M^r Watson, especial Threder, I am ashamed to write, nay to think of. M^r Watson has taken all the workemen off M^r Haynes' Chambers, soe that they now lye unfinished; and one day when I was at Breakfast in M^r Haynes' Chamber (which was y^e next morning after Capt. Udall left this place), he went into my room and clapt crossbars upon my Window next the Street, as thick sett and as like any prison I ever saw, as Capt. Michin will inform you ; and he left this word with my men, ' If your Master asks Who did this? say I did it': but I only mention this as a detigned, premeditated malice of him, for else soe many barres could not be fixed in soe little time, they being, as above hinted, put up the morning after Capt. Udall departed hence, M^r Haynes, M^r Seere, and selfe goeing some part of the way with Capt. Udall, leaving M^r Sydonham by himself at Supper. In our absence how he was abused and scolded at by M^r Ellis, Threder, Barker, Watson, and Elliott, I refer you to Capt. Minchin, and his own letter sent herewith, but to Capt. Udall for a full account of all grievances, which are dayly great and are likely to be greater, unless speedily remedied, for none that is your friend can live at quiet here; but Threder is worse than the worst of my enemies.

" I am, Sir,

" Your faithfull Servant,

" SAMUEL Langley."

ATT A CONSULTATION.

September 6.—The letter yesterday received from Mr. Langley being read, concerning y^e abuses he had received from Mr. Watson, &c., 'twas thought convenient to send for Capt. Udall, Capt. Minchin, & Capt. Raynes, to examine them about it, they being lately arrived from Cassinibuzar, and had been present at y^e greatest part of y^e abuse—who gave in their testimony, viz. :

Capt. Raynes affirmes that Mr. Watson challenged Mr. Langley, and asked him whether he would be *his* Second.

The other particulars, as Mr. Watson's abusing Capt. Raynes at y^e Publique Table, and in M^r Charnock's Room; his quick reply to Capt. Udall; his calling Mr. Langley Sirrah, and threatening him with a Slap of the Face if he

spake another worde; Mr. Barker giving Capt. Udall the Lye, &c., were affirmed by all of them to be true.

And Capt. Minchin, remaining there a day after the others came away, affirms that, talking with Mr. Watson about his abusive Language and quarrells, and telling him he might chance to be sent for by the Agent and Councell, to Hugly, to answer what he had done, he presently replyed; "That if he were sent for, he questioned whether he should come downe or not, for he had no dependance upon them, he being placed there by the Company, as much as the Agent and Councell in Hugly, and soe not in their power to remove him", and much more to y^e same purpose.

After examination of the Witnesses, the evill consequences that might accrue from such quarrells and contempt of our Authority and Government in this place, if not speedily remedied, being taken into consideration, 'twas thought good Mr. Watson be sent for to this place, to answer to what was certified against him, and to receive such punishment as the meritt of his offence shall deserve.

Having received advice from Mr. Robert Hedges at Raja-maul of y^e death of Mr. Thomas Hill, and there being a former order in Consultation that there should always be three persons at y^e Mint, in case of Mortality (that being a place of trust and necessity requiring a person that speaketh the Language), 'twas thought fitt to send Mr. Samuel Pine, to be a further Assistant to him at that place.

Dispeeded letters from Cassumbazar, ordering them to dismiss Mr. Ellis their Factory, whom we understand they entertain and carress; and that they send Mr. James Watson to this place within 3 dayes at farthest after the receipt hereof, to answer such wordes and misdemeanours as are laid to his charge; and ordered Mr. Langley to this place.

September 15.—Mr. James Watson arrived at Cassumbazar, and brought the following Gen^{ll}. Letter:

"Cassumbazar, 12th September 1688."

"Right Worshipfull & y^r Councell,—We have received yours of the 29th past and 6th current, which are soe far from procuring any money at Interest here, that y^r Merchants, to whom we are already indebted, have severall times called on us for payment; and that we have little hope of being supplyed from y^r Mint, having received but Rupees 20,000 in a long time; and we have present occasion for 2 Lacks more to pay for y^r 1000 Bales of July bind^d Silke lately contracted for. However, we desist not from endeavoring mony at Interest."

"We are packing and chesting what Silkes are now in the House ready, & they shall be sent to you with all speed possible. You should have had some aforo, had not the continual Raines hindered us.

"Wee never gave any Invitation to M^r Ellis, or John Elliot, to come up hither, nor to any person that came in their Company, & know no reason as they might not be as civilly entertained as any of the rest; but we are so far from harbouring or Caressing any that have been unfaithfull to the Hon^r Company, that we should upon all occasions use our utmost endeavour to hinder them, as there [are] some circumstances already doth sufficently demonstrate. John Elliot departed in the Company he came up with. M^r Ellis is providing himself elsewhere, tho' we would presume to acquaint you that we never hitherto had been informed what his Crimes of Infidelity were for which he was dismiss'd the Hon^r Comp^r employ, more than by his own relation, who utterly denies the least unfaithfulness to his Masters, and declares he hath been unjustly dealt by, and far from their Orders, and more particularly in y^r 23rd Paragragh of their Gen^r letter by the *Prudent Mary*, which includes 'that y^r Councell of the Bay may, upon due proof, remove any Chief or other of their Servants that are unfaithful, they not being of the Councell of *Hugly*' (of whom he is one). All things of this nature, or any else of great import, being to be seriously considered and discussed by a general Councell of the Bay, which ought to be annually called, as hath been the Custom of former Chiefs till now of late, which consists of all Chiefs of the Subordinate Factories, or as many of them as can be spared, and this used to be in the most commodious Season, which is just after departure of the Shipping.

"We would not be thought to be more in fault for giving M^r Ellis and his Lady a little lodging and diet (he accounting himself still the Hon^r Company's Servant, & this being a place where there is no accommodation of any other English or Christian Inhabitants), than other Factories have been, for entertaining those against whom have been evident proofs of great Infidelity to y^r Hon^r Company, particularly M^r Catchpoole, who hath had the accomodation of the 6th Lodgings in *Hugly* Factory, and, if we are not falsely informed, hath been suffered to sett in Councell, when it never belonged to him. This was after

intended for England; besides which, he is still encouraged and entertained in a very high degree.

"In persuance of your Orders, M^r Watson comes herewith, tho' we cannot imagine what great offence he hath committed to be called from the Honorable Company's business here, in this juncture of time, when a great deal more help is required. If every Malicious, Idle Report must take place, and thereon the Hon^{ble} Company's Servants be called from their employ, the Businesse must of necessity lye still, as we humbly conceive will bee found in this businesse of his, as it will be made apparent under some person's hands: if it be that of M^r Raynes (who is not in y^e Hon^{ble} Comp^y Service), whc tooke him from table after Supper, and drew him out of the Factory, and then assaulted him (a couple of Swords having been privately sent out afore); and if it concerns M^r Haines and M^r Langley's lodgings, it was by the Chief's Order.

"At finishing hereof, in cometh Nansook, a Merchant, sent by Bulchund, to tell us that our last year's Custome hath been satisfied at Dacca by one Golobray, a Merchant there, and that he will write to y^e Right Worshipfull the Agent, to know whether he is content to give in the Talice of goods for y^e present year to Permessaadas or himselfe, and desires us to write also to him. We, never yet having had the least intimation of what was ever transacted at Dacca, could give no other answer than a promise to advise you of what he saith. As to sending Copies of the Gen^l Accounts, they have been balanced but a small time, and at present M^r Sydenham and M^r Seare are both very sick of Fever.

"We remaine,

"Right Worship^l att your Command,

"JOE CHARNOCK.

"JAMES WATSON.

"RICH^l BARKER.

"JOHN THREDER.

"CHARLES CUDWORTH.

"M^r Longley shall be forthwith coming towards you. Your Jylbdar,¹ after he had received his letter, would not stay for the Gen^l, but stood upon departure."

September 16.—M^r Samuel Langley arrived in HUGLY.

ATT A CONSULTATION.

September 17.—M^r James Watson and M^r Samuel Langley were summoned to appear before us, to be examined about their quarrel in Cassambazar, concerning which both of them brought several attestations of words that passed between them, of soe little import that we thought it a business not

¹ Pers., *Jalibdar*, or *jaldadar*, lit. 'a bridle-holder', a servant in charge of pack-horses or mules, etc. The word occurs repeatedly in this diary, but is now obsolete in India.—Y.

worth our Cognizance, and only insisted on Mr. Watson questioning our Authority: for the purpose whereof we sent for Capt. Minchin, who testified to his face these following words spoken by him: "That he questioned (if he were sent for by the Agent and Councill to Hugly) whether he should come downe or not, for he had no dependance upon them; he being placed by the Company in Cassumbazar, as much as the Agent and Councill at Hugly, and soe not in power to remove him." Where upon there arose so great a debate amongst the Councill that it was thought convenient to refer the determination of it till the next consultation.

W^u. HEDGES W^u. JOHNSON

JOHN BEARD RICH^u. FREWENFIELD.

September 22.—The underwritten is Copy of Capt. Minchin's affirmation against Mr. Watson, to the truth of which he was this day sworn before the Agent.

"Hugly, 20th Sept. 1688.

"I, William Minchin, doe affirme that, talking to M^r. Watson about his abusive language and quarrells, and telling him he might chance to be sent for by the Agent and Councill to Hugly, to answer for what he had done, he, the said Watson, presently replied, 'That if he were sent for he questioned whether he should come downe or not, for he had no dependance upon them, he being placed there by the Company as much as y^r Agent & Councill in HUGLY, and soe not in their power to remove him'; and much more to the same purpose, the truth whereof am ready to depose on oath, if hereunto required.

"To the truth of this I subscribe,

"W^u. MINCHIN.

"Sworne the 22nd 7th 1688, before me."

"WILLIAM HEDGES.

"Witnesses" "WILLIAM JOHNSON.

"ALLEN CATCHPOLE.

"NATH. LETTER."

"M^r. Eyre told me M^r. Hervy's Servant sett y^r Factory afire, a purpose to gain a poore Woman (his wench) a piece of reward; and that at Maulda he has made a Budgerd worth 600 Rupees.

AT A CONSULTATION.

September 24.—Upon discourse concerning what manner of punishment should be inflicted on M^r. Watson for y^r words spoken by him, mentioned in Consultation of 17th Instant, which were produced against him by Capt. Minchin—finding ourselves divided, we gave in our opinions as followeth, and left the determination thereof to our Honorable Masters.

"I, William Hedges, am of opinion that M^r. Watson ought to be suspended y^r Hon^{ble} Company's Service till such time as answer be sent out of England, and their Honours' pleasure be further known; whose positive orders in their letter of the 20 7th 1682, are: That they will have entire and absolute Obedience paid to y^r Agent and his Councill— and M^r. Watson 'questioning whether he should come downe or not'—(if sent for) 'having no dependance (as he pretended) upon us'—'being placed in Cassumbuzar by the Company, as well as the Agent and Councill in Hugly, and consequently not in their power to remove him'—is so great a contempt of y^r Hon^{ble} Company's Authority, and their Commission given to y^r Agent and Councill here, and may probably be of such ill consequence—by encouraging others (if he goe unpunished) to do the like—that I conceive this y^r most favorable sentence that be pronounced against him, but humbly submitt this my opinion to y^r Hon^{ble} Company's great Wisdome, and better Determination.

"W^m HEDGES."

"Having well considered the words said to bee spoken by M^r. James Watson, Fourth of Councill in Cassumbuzar, in the company of Capt. Minchin, M^r. Cudworth, and others, in relation to their nature and demerit, and with all due Honour, reverence, and respect to our Hon^{ble} Masters, their Authority and Commands, and to the Authority and Commands derived from them to their Agent and Councill here, [I] doe humbly crave leave to dissent from the opinion of the Right W^r Agent, which is to this purpose: 'That the said M^r. Watson, for those words spoken, ought to be suspended the Hon^{ble} Comp^y Service till their pleasure therein be known'; and doe hereby declare my dissent. And that for y^r reasons following:

"I find by our Hon^{ble} Master's letter, dated 20th 7th 1682, in y^r 23rd and 24th Paragraph, Power derived from them to y^r Agent and Councill in the Bay expressly (which Councill is elsewhere stated), 'to punish for any Unfaithfulness, want of Diligence, and Obedience, to the Agent and any Chief or any other of their Servants that shall be found guilty thereof, in the Ordnance'; and the Council of the Bay is so expressly directed by the Council of Hugly, over which they have no

" Now I humbly conceive this crime charged upon M^r Watson is not such crime as is there mentioned; but if it were, it ought to come before y^e Counsell of y^e Bay, and not be determined by y^e Counsell of Hugly only, much less by Three, there being no more at present in actual exercise of that trust, viz., The Right Worshipfull Agent, myself, and M^r Johnson. And I also find that in case of Negligence and Obstinacy there ought to be admonition given by which Obstinacy and Disobedience, &c., may be discovered and discerned, as reference being had to y^e said Letter will appear.

" 2nd. The offence with which M^r Watson is charged being Words spoke in a familiar discourse between y^e persons before-named, which Words Capt. Minchin, his accuser, doth not say were spoke in y^e forme in y^e Diary express, but words to that purpose, which words M^r Watson denies to have been spoken by him, but acknowledges they were spoken by some person then in Company, which words (supposing he did speak them), as they were not either of the Crimes in y^e Hon^{ble} Comp^y Letter mentioned, see it is also evident he did not intend to doe as he said, for no sooner did an order come to him to come downe, but he yielded obedience without any delay.

" 3rd. The Punishment in y^e Right Worshipfull Agent's opinion to be inflicted bears no proportion to, but vastly exceeds, the offence committed; which punishment is like to be his ruin, at least it will incapacitate him to doe the Hon^{ble} Comp^y that service that otherwise he might be able to doe, should y^e Hon^{ble} Company restore him. Therefore,

" 4th. There being y^e Ruin of y^e said Watson in danger for an offence in words only, nothing of Unfaithfulness, Negligence, Obstinacy, or Disobedience being charged upon him, neither Sloath nor Luxury imputed to him, I dare not but dissent. And for the same reason for which I dissent, I give my opinion--

" That the said M^r James Watson ought to be admonished, and sent to y^e place of Fourth of Cassumbusar, where our Hon^{ble} Masters ordered him by their letter of the 15th 9th 1682, Paragraph 22nd.

" Humbly submitting my dissent from the Right Worshipful Agent, and the reasons upon which I have soe done, as also my opinion, to the Wisdom of our Honorable Masters.

" JOHN BEARD."

" It is my opinion that he who shall question the Agent's and Counsell's power by saying 'they had nothing to doe with him', and 'he was put into his place by y^e Hon^{ble} Company, therefore not in their power to remove him', are words of soe ill a consequence, that in obedience to y^e Hon^{ble} Comp^y letter by the Prudent Mary, we can doe no less than suspend him his employ till our Hon^{ble} Masters' pleasure be further knowne concerning such refractory persons. And as they were pleased to degrade M^r Catchpoole and M^r Thredler for disrespect to M^r Challen-

their Chief, wee doubt not but they will (as they mention in said Letter) have all entire obedience and respect paid to their Agent and Council. In all which I submitt to their most serious Judgement.

“ WILLIAM JOHNSON.”

The Suspension of Mr. Watson being carried in the affirmative, Mr. Watson was sent for and the Agent told him his business was thoroughly weighed and considered by the Councell, & he was to declare him, the said Watson, suspended the Hon. Comp. Service, and that he might reside in Hugly till y^e Hon^{ble} Comp.^s pleasure be farther made known to the Councell.

And that the Hon. Comp^ys Business may not lye still at Cassumbuzar for want of Mr. Watson, we immediately ordered Mr. Nicholas Davenant to be Fourth of Councell at Cassumbuzar, and to assist Mr. Charnock in the Taffety Warehouse; and that letters be wrote to stop him, being on his way to Maulda, whither he was, on a former Consultation, ordered Third.

WILLIAM HEDGES.

JOHN BEARD.

W^m. JOHNSON.

Minute by Mr. Beard:—

“ I humbly pray that my assent to M^r Davenant being placed in y^e room of M^r James Watson at Cassumbuzar may not be interpreted that I should dare to have any hand in putting any person in the said Watson's room, who was placed there by the Hon^{ble} Comp^s Orders, he having not, in my opinion, committed any offence worthy suspension. But he being suspended by y^e vote and opinion of the Right Worshipfull Agent & M^r Johnson, I think it needful there be one in that place, that the Hon^{ble} Comp^s affairs may not suffer, and that M^r Davenant is the fittest person for that place in the Country, being bred a Mercer, and an ingenious, sober man.

“ JOHN BEARD.”

September 25.—Received adyice from Ballasore of the 19th current, of the arrival of Four Shippes in that Road, viz., the Welfare, Capt. Wilday, from Persia; a Free Ship from Viragapat^m, and two Interlopers, Alley and Smith.

September 26.—Mr. Beard declares 'tis his opinion that Mr. Ellis is, and ought still to be, admitted of this Councell by Virtue of the Company's last letter, notwithstanding his Infidelity: because Mr. Charnock is of that opinion.

This day Mr. Richard Mohun, in the *Recovery*, arrived from Achin and Malacca: advises he met with two of the Company's Ships in the Streights, one Smith the commander of one of them, and Cole commander of the other. They told him they were bound for China, to seek out and settle a Trade there where they could find admittance. That the Company had sent out 6 Ships of them this year. One of those had £30,000 Stock on board, besides a good quantity of cloth. That the Merchants who had orders to dispose of this Stock and Cargo were all aboard another Shipp. That aboard of one of said Shipp was one Mr. Thomas, who was distracted.

Mr. Mohun farther declared that the Governor of Malacca told him they expected orders out of Holland, y^e next Shipping, to forbid and stop all Xtian Shippes whatsoever from going through either of the two Streights of Sunda or Malacca. That if the businesse of Bantam had not luckily fallen into their hands, they had resolved to have demanded satisfaction of the Nabob of Dacca, and fallen out with him for y^e sondry affronts and injuries received from him; and that they might not be prejudiced themselves for want of Rice to store their South Sea Factories and Garrisons in the mean time, they had prudently settled a Factory to furnish them in a plentiful manner with Rice at Arracan. And when they made peace and settled themselves in a fortification in some most commodious part of the River's Mouth, they would either oblige y^e Natives and Government of Bengal to interdict and forbid their trade with all manner of European Christians, or else were resolved to run y^e hazard of doing it themselves. And then Adieu to y^e Bay of Bengall (ye best flower in y^e Company's Garden), and all India besides, if

they please to command it. And if it does not please God to putt it into y^e Company's hearts to doe something to prevent this evil the next year, by settling and making a Fort in one of the Islands, I fear they will be excluded for ever hereafter.

This is also, in my judgement, the only remedy to prevent the Interlopers infesting of us.

This day likewise arrived news of the two Interlopers, Alley, of the *Lumley Castle*, and Smith, of the *Constantinople Merchant*, arrival in Ballasore Road: at y^e same time came in Capt. Wildy in the *Welfare*, from Gombroon and Fort St. George. Capt. Alley came up to Hugly in his Barge, rowed with English Mariners in coats with Badges, and 4 Musicians. [He] applyed himselfe first to Dr. Douglass and then to Mr. Littleton, for advice and directions in all his concerns; put himselfe into a great Equipage with Flags, like an Agent, and tooke about 70 or 80 Peons to wait on him.

Capt. Alley, for y^e better conveniency of private discourse, and notice not to be taken of them, went to our Garden this Afternoon to meet Mr. Evans, our Minister, and his Brother in Law, Mr. Frenchfeild: what the design should be I cannot imagine. Mr. Beard's encouragement & partnership in trade with Mr. Dowglass has made divers persons extremely regardless of the Company's strict ordet in their dealings and commerce with Interlopers.

Answered Mr. Charnock's general Letter of y^e 13th Instant as followeth:

" Hugly, 26th Septem^r 1683.

" M^r Job Charnock, &c, Councell,

" Sirs,—Wee have yours, 13th Current, and are sorry you are not able to procure money at Interest. We hope you will be speedily supplied from the Mint.

" Your Bales of Silke and Chests of Taffaⁿ will be welcome—resolving to ship them as soon as they arrive in.

✓ " What invitation you gave Mr. Ellis we know not, but thought it improper y^e one dismissed y^e Company's Service and this Factory should be received and entertained by you.

" We cannot but resent your writing on his behalf, and think your reflections on this Councill very unworthy, assuring (on his bare information) we have dismiss him wrongfully, without serious consideration.

" If you have not been acquainted with his crime, 'tis possible we did not finde nor think ourselves obliged soe to doe. We shall be accountable for that to our Masters, as also whether he be of this Councill, or Legally discarded, notwithstanding the Paragraph cited by you in y' Hon. Comp' letter.

" You say it has been y' Custome of former Chiefs (till now of late) to Call a Genⁿ Coucill of the Bay annually, which you positively affirme consists of all the Chiefs of Subordinate Factories, or as many of them as can be spared, and that this used to be in y' most commodious season, after y' departure of ye Shipping. You had done well to have quoted some precedent of this kiud, being wholly ignorant of such a Custome, and [we] are credibly informed by divers persons that for these 10 years last past M^r Charnock was either not thought fitt to be summoned, or never had the Honor to attt in such a General Councill. You had been no less kind if you had told us how you came by that knowledge, that the Chieftship of every Subordinate Factory denominat^d or entitled him to be one of the Genⁿ Councill of the Bay, which we expect your next should inform us, being clearly of a contrary opinion; and desire likewise to know who shall be Judge; how many of those Chiefs can be conveniently spared.

" As to our entertainment of M^r Catchpoole in y' 3rd Lodgings, we presume neither y' 3rd or 4th of this place ever made any complaint to you of the Injury done them, though you have impertinently taken upon you to reprove us for it.

" You did well to submitt to our orders in sending of M^r Watson: It was thought fitt, upon serious consideration (without giving you any further account of it), to suspend y' said M^r Watson y' Hon. Comp. Service, and to order his residence at this Factory till their pleasure be further known.

" And that our Masters' concerns may not suffer by his absence or removal, we have thought fitt to appoint, and doe hereby order, M^r Nicholas Davenant to be in his place, assistant to M^r Charnock in y' Taffy warehouse, and Fourth of Councill.

" We shall not trouble ourselves to convince you of your mistake in saying you never yet had y' least intimation of what was ever transacted at Deoca, having profe sufficient under your own head to y' contrary.

" M^r Langley will speedily return to you to assist you in writing The Gyllibdar staid two dayes soliciting in your Factory for your Genⁿ Letter, after M^r Langley had dispatch^d him, by the testimony of M^r Watson.

" We admire what made you send poore to forte our Gyllydar back to yoor Factory, after he had gone 12 Comes on his way, and dismiss him againe without any reason for it.

" We are,

" S" Yo' Affectionate Friends,

W. HEDGE.

J. BEARD.

W. JOHNSON."

Received the following letter from Mr. Ellis.

" Cassum", 28th 7th 1683.

" Right Worp", &c, Councell,

" S";—Your persecutions have been soe many and great since your Agent's arrivall, that they are intollerable when I consider upon what grounds you dismist me the service, which was irregularly dohe, because without y^r Councell of y^r Bay. Besides, y^r power y^r Hon^r Comp^r gave never reached to further than suspension, untill y^r Gen^r. Letter per y^r *Prudent Mary* came, where y^r Councell of Hugly is excepted, whereof I am one. Here follows the Rule^r you were to walke by, in our Hon^r Masters' own words, viz.: ' And therefore we doe hereby enlarge that Power we formerly gave, of suspending from our Service any in their judgement that shall not behave themselves Faithfully and Diligently as they ought to doe'. But you have not suspended, but turned me out, without any regard to those orders given, pretending you have done me y^r greatest justice in y^r world. But I hope in God to meet with much better in Father-Land for y^r inexpressable damage done me, & doubt not but 'twill require greater satisfaction than you at present are aware of. Now your pretence for turning me out was for participating with Muttradas in his roguery. If so ('tis very strange to me, and will be much more to my Hon^r Masters, when they come to understand y^r truth hereof) why was not y^r said Muttradas turned out likewise? he being y^r Chief Instrument and occasion of that great Infidelity you taxe me with. Alsoe his Guilt last year in that unpardonable offence of Lading the Interlopers and, as I am credibly informed, goeing on in that track, he or his Brother Bollubdas for him.

" Then there's y^r loss of our Hou. Employers' priviledges, a Crime in y^r highest nature; and he, one of the Chiefest Actors therein, by sending his Goods to all places upon our Dusticks, thereby cheating the King of his Customes; otherwise our P'hirmaund had never been called in question.

" Another materiall thing I must insert before I come to conclusion, that is, to give you Gentlemen of the Councell to understand, and to put the Agent in minde of, a letter he shewed me from Sir Josiah Child upon his arrivall, wherein he is positively forbid to have any dealings with Muttradas and 3 or 4 Merchants more (I think Jayahund, Ramburain, Rogoorund, and Hambund), yett notwithstanding these afores-

going circumstances that these persons, especially Muttradesa, should not only be carressed and countenanced in y^e Hon^{ble} Comp^y Factory of Hugly, but traded withal for large summes of money, consulted with about their affaires, and taken abroad where y^e Agent goes to contrive and forge Falshys against honest men, is a riddle to me; but I question not but it will be unfolded to my Hon^{ble} Masters in good time, to somebody's great shame and remorse of conscience for their unjust actions.

"I am, S^r.

"Yours att Command,

"FRANCIS ELLIS,

"I desire this may be entered and sent home, that it may come to the Hon^{ble} Comp^y perusal.

F. E.

October 1683.

October 1.—M^r. Daniel Joachim Sehlu, one of the Danes Merchants that were turned out of Bantam, now living here in the Dutch quarters, gave me a Visit, and amongst other discourse told me, "When he was at Batavia some months since, Gen^{ll}. Spelman told him so soone as he had possessed himselfe of Bantam and ended y^e War, his next designe was to call y^e Nabob of Decca to an account for y^e severall affronts and abuses received from the Natives of Bengall; and to make y^e most advantageous conditions with them that they could," with much more to this purpose; the said M^r. Sehlu apprehending by y^e General's discourse, he intended to block up the River with Fortifications, and make himselfe Master of the Bay, as he had done of divers other Countries.

October 2.—Chittermull and Deepchund, two Cassumbazar Merchants, this day assured me M^r. Charnock gives out all his new Secca Rupees for Dadny^{rs} at 2 per Cent., and never gives the Company credit for more than 1½ rupee, by which he gains and puttis in his owne pocket Rupees ½ per Cent. of all the money he pays, which amounts to a great Summe in y^e Yeare, at least £1000 Sterling.

One Edward Barlow, late mate of the *Delight*, Capt. Smith, Commander, being turned ashore by his Commander at Achia,

¹ *Delight*; money advanced to weavers, and the like, by those whom he is to supply with goods.—Y.

came passenger on M^r. Hohun's Shippe from thence, tells me he came out of y^e Downes with y^e Mexico Merchant Capt. Packston, which latter going into Plymouth, they have not since seen him. They were both ordered to go to Achin. The *Delight* had been there near 7 Weeks, but Packston arrived not in all that time, so believe he went through y^e Streights of Sunda. Says he left Gravesend the 4th January last. One Capt. Harding, in the *Carolinus*, & Capt. Cole in the *Smirnaote*, sailed out of England some months before them for y^e South Seas.

I was this day advised that M^r. Charnock putt off M^r. Ellis's Cowries at 34 pund to y^e Rupec, in payment to all y^e Peons and Servants of the Factory, whereas 38 Punds are really bought by them for a rupee.¹ For which reason also M^r. Beard sent up his Cowries, which he received from y^e Mauldivas, to be put off and passed by M^r. Charnock at Cassumbazar.

Received a Gen^l. from Cassumbazar, dated the 29th Ult^o. advising y^e Death of M^r. Cha^s. Sydenham the 18th, and M^r. John Sears y^e 29th d^o.

ATT A CONSULTATION.

M^r. James Harding having severall times petitioned that he might again be entertained in the Hon^{ble} Comp^{ny} Service, according to their Orders in their Gen^l. Letter the 27th of October 1682, wherein they say, " If he be found diligent, able, and faithful, he may have such preferment as we think he may deserve", 'twas this day taken into consideration; and I having declared that the said M^r. Harding had told me at Calcapore, on his way to Dacca, that M^r. Thredler had much wronged the Company in his charge of Warehouse keeper at Cassumbazar, and afterwards refused to testify y^e same when demanded of him at Cassumbazar, and [in] y^e Businesse of M^r. Thredler, upon examination; the question being put

¹ A 'Pun' (*puna*) is a certain number of Cowries, generally 80.—Y.

whether y^e said M^r Harding should be readmitted into the Compt^r Service? 'twas carried in the Negative.

The Agent's Account Cash to the end of Last Month was received and passed.

W^x. HEDGES.

JOHN BEARD.

WILLIAM JOHNSON.

RICH^p. FRENCHFIELD.

October 8.—This day Capt. Alley went to visit the Fousda: he was unwilling to goe alone, and gott Permesurados (his Protector), our Chiefe Customer, to goe to y^e Fousdar's, and be there at his arrivall. As soon as they were seated, the Fousdar demanded of him "Wherfore he came not to visit him before he was sent for", answered "He understood that the Fousdar was a great friend of the Agents, and consequently feared he should not be well treated."

The Fousdar demanded upon what account he came hither? Alley replyed, "As an Englishman, and upon the same Service as y^e Company traded here." The Fousdar told him y^e English Agent had divers Phirmauns from y^e King, and Perwannas from the Nabos and the King's Duan, which he had not. Permesuradas answered for him, and said all should be well to the Fousdar's satisfaction, meaning he should have a good Present sent him.

Alley went in a splendid Equipage, habitted in Scarlet richly laced. Ten Englishmen in Blew Capps and Coats edged with Red, all armed with Blunderbusses, went before his pellikan-keen, 80 Peons before them, and 4^t Musicians playing on the Weights, with 2 Flaggs before him, like an Agent. A gawdy shew and great noise adds much to a Publick Person's credit in this Country. As for Soldjers, they are of absolute necessity here in divers respects, and especially whilst we are thus infested with Interlopers, to keepe us from publick affronts, as well as overawe our owne people and mariners, who are now very numerous and insolent amongst us, & (by reason of Punch) every day give disturbance.

October 10.—The inconvenience of the Hon^{ble} Compt^r exempting the Council of Hugly for being questioned for their actions, or possibility of being displaced, was seen this day. A Councill being called, one of them went out upon his occasions, not regarding the notice given to him, and another time would not come when he was called, pretending business.

The Dutch Director refused to admit of the Interlopers in his Quarters. Mr. Naylor trades with them for considerable profits, and sells Taffaties cheaper than bought by Mr. Charnock at Cassumbazar.

I was this day informed that last Saturday, in the afternoon, being the 6th Instant, when I went to the English Garden, Mr. Beard took occasion to meet Capt. Alley and Mr. Davis, the Interloper, at Mr. Littleton's house. Whilst Mr. Beard continues thus to countenance and keep a familiar private correspondence with disaffected persons and Interlopers, there is little hope of doing them any prejudice in this place.

October 12.—I received a Gen^l from Ballasore dated y^e 6th Inst., advising y^e Interlopers find soe little encouragement in that place, that Capt. Smith, in the *Constantinople Merchant*, intends to sail for Hugly.

Mr. Charnock's reply to my Gen^l of the 26 Ultimo received this day.

"Cassumb', the 6th October 1683.

"Right Worshipfull, &c, Councill,

"Wee have received yours of the 28th past. Since our Last wee have procured with much difficultie Rupees 15,000, att Interest, at Rup. 1 2 an. per Cent. per mth. Our Silk Taffaties are now going to be laden and sent towards you as fast as the small assistance we have will admit of.

"We doe confirme what [we] wrote you in our last about Mr. Ellis, that according to the Hon. Compt^r Letter by the *Prudent Mary*, he, being one of Huglie Councill, could not be dismissed their employ, and afore y^e letter came, there was only power of *suspension*, soe that he accounts himselfe still of Councill.

"You will find Gen^l Councill to have been called in former Chancery.

times, and by the Agent Mathews, and Major Fuchs, when they were here in the Bay, if you please to peruse the diaries left by Mr. Vincent. They did not consult only with one or two, but called all, or as many as could be spared, of the Chiefs of the Subordinate Factories to the Consultation, when Mess^{rs}. Hall and Smith were suspended, and settlements made, amongst whom Mr. Charnock was then thought fit to have the honor to be summoned to said Council, but it was the shipping time, & he could not come down to attend: and who ever he was which advised you that for ten years past 'he was not thought Fitt', or 'Never had the honour to be summoned', was under a great mistake. However, for better Confirmation, the Hon^{ble} Comp^y have thought him, not only worthy to be Second in the Bay, but to succeed in the Agency. But, put the case, there had not for several years past been any General Consultations, doth that argue there must never be any? Our Hon^{ble} Masters, to avoide that dispute, have fixed a Council, making a distinction from the Bay and Huglie, who have wholly power to examine, suspend, or dismiss from their Employ any that are guilty of breach of their expressed orders; and that is not confined to one or two of them at most.

"Your vigorous notwithstanding calling Generall Councill of the Bay, and at last telling us you will be accountable only to our Hon^{ble} Masters, is no ways consonant to their Orders, who (in our Opinuon) will receive little satisfaction thereby, it being soe much in Diameter^r to their Interests.

"We did not reprove, but looked on it as our duty to minds you of the unreasonableness of Mr. Catchpoole Lying in the 3rd Lodgings at Huglie: he that was Third there, and looked on himselfe wronged by not being preferred to a higher employ, did make known his grivances, and the Hon^{ble} Comp^y placing Mr. Charnock 2nd of Council, hee thought he could do no lease; and the other hath no right, by their expresse commands, which say, If he accepted not of the 6 in Council^r of this Factory (for Mr. Thredre is nominated afore him) he should not be in any employ in their Service.

"Your suspending Mr. Watson is altogether opposite to the Hon^{ble} Company's orders, there being neither Unfaithfulness, Negligence, Luxury, nor Disobedience proved against him; the most was but matter of Words, and therefore we hoped admonition had been sufficient for the first time, which we desire you to consider of. And the Wittness at first declared afore the Council he could not be positive who spake them; and whatever he did afterwards should have been [stated] afore said Council likewise, that Mr. Watson might have made his defense. (The Law condemning no man without having his accusers face to face, and not Sworne privately.) Besides, there was not above half of the Council, one of whom dissented.

" If it were for Action, the Hon. Comp. will ill resent any person to come into any of their Factories (not being in their Service) to raise discussion and challenge any of their Servants, and much more to send forth Swords clandestinely afore hand, which must be referred with every other circumstance to them. His absence from here is detrimental to their affaires, and the more [so], two Writers being lately dead, and another besides him called downe in the very height of business, so that if any thing in writing, or what else, bee neglected, Wee must quitt our selves thereof. We request he may be sent up immediately, to adjust his accounta.

" Concerning y^r Decca affaires of Custome, it will appear how much wee have been acquainted therewith. If ever we were informed of such a person as Golobray, or his being security for the Right Worshipfull Agent (a thing altogether unpracticable), or his satisfying the Customes of last year, or sending up James Price, this, or his Commission, then we are to blame in writing the contrary. The p[ro]o[fe] of you mention to have under our owne hands specifies nothing of the above mentioned. But all your general letters from Decca to us were only to accompany severall perwannas, and their Copies (excepting the case of M^r Prickman & a Perwanna for the Mint), of the Nabob and Duan to Bulchund, to release the goods upon Talicas, and to turne out Permesuradas, and to recover the money he had unjustly extorted from us. In order to which, the Nabob's Assole was sent downe therewith to see it put in execution.

" But to this day we know Permessuradas is not displaced, and much feare none of the money is yet retrieved. But by accident, lately came to our view a Coppie of the King's Duan's, Meer Amud's, Perwanna to Bulchund, expressing that your Security, Golobray, had given an account of the Talica for last year's goods, amounting to Rupees 3,97,627, which at Rup. 8½ per Cent. Custome amounts to Rup. 13,917; and that the said Golobray, being security, had already paid into y^r King's Cajanna' Rupees 900. This the Duan hath ordered Bulchund, by said Perwanna, to receive of us now; and for the future saith he will receive y^r Customes yearly at Decca, of said Golobray, which will prove not only a great detriment to y^r Comp^r but a disgrace to the whole Nation; and, without doubt, had timely care and the right way been used, as was advised, it had never come to this heigh[th].

" As for y^r Jyllibdar, we conceive he is to attend our Answer to your Generall, and not M^r Langley's particular. The reason for our calling him back was to have sent said Generall by him; but afore his returne M^r Watson was going, by whom we thought fit to send it, for the speedy conveyance.

" We stand in great need of Rarities for presents, and factors' presents, and Beames and Stakes.

"Wee have not an ounce of Copperas by us, nor is there any available but the Country Copperas, which wee have tried, and will not let see that no more Black can be dyed unless some be speedily be sent."

"Wee Remaine,

"At y' Commands,

"JOE CHARNOCK,

"RICH^D. BARKER,

"CHARLES CUDWORTH,

"JOHN THREDER."

I received the foregoing factious, disrespectfull letter from Mr. Charnock and Council, declaring Mr. Ellis still of Council here, not being in our power to turne him out, though Infidelity was confess by himselfe, and manifestly proved against him.

Mr. Charnock resolves the question that every Chief of a Factory (being one of Council of the Bay) may come or stay away when summoned to Council, as he thinks convenient, by saying "as many as could be spared", of which they themselves were to be judges, and that it was then Shipping time when Mr. Charnock was summoned and could not be spared stuffing his Letter with diuers false storys and impertinencies which require great time and leisure to answer. Insomuch that if y^e Hon. Compt^r doe not think fit to rectifie this disorder their busines^{ce} will soon run to confusion. The countenancing and writing to Mr. Charnock, Mr. Beard, Mr. Hervey and Mr. Pownsett, having made them in their owne Conceipte more than soe many Agents, saying as Mr. Watson did, "they are Chiefs, and put in by the Company as well as himselfe" and will send their Goods and answer our Letters when they please. Mr. Hervey has not wrott one Gen^l. Letter to us since his first arrivall at Maulda, now 5 months since, nor sent us his Diarys. The Company must be necessitated to follow the Dutch rule, and command absolute and entire Obedience to be given to their Agent, or their affaires in this Country will run into great disorder and suddaine destruction. I can but discharge my duty, and God's Will be done for y^r

rest. If my Second had been true to me, all these evils had been prevented.

October 15.—I receiyed a Gen^l. Letter from Mr. Hervey, &c^a, Council at Maulda, complaining of the Government for protecting the Company's Merchants and Dr^s [debtors] from paying their just demands, and desiring a Perwanna may be procured from Decca, complaining of one Jamshier Beigh for demanding and exacting large annual Presents, vexing and ruining some of our Servants, and that if such a Perwanna, with an Assol or Messenger, cannot be procured, he shall not be able to send some $\frac{1}{8}$ part of this year's Investment, and that will come 25 per cent. or more above its due value; and presses to have the perwanna, though it cost Rup. 5000.

The truth of all this is, Mr. Hervey was forced, when he left Decca, to give Mr. Pounsett for security, to pay what sums soever he should be condemned to pay the Weavers and Brokers there (with whom he had a great Suit at Law for 6 months' continuance). The said Weavers and Brokers recovered 3,300 rup. of Mr. Pownsett. Mr. Hervey now contrives the procuring this Perwanna, that Mr. Pownsett may satisfie himselfe out of y^e Price which y^e Company must pay for it, though 'tis not worth a straw to the Company; and besides, 'tis to be feared y^e Company will be strangely over-rated for all their Goods that come this yeare from Maulda. I would not be bound to secure them for 30 per cent. At this rate the Company will soon be ruined in Bengall. This is the effect of making every Chief^e one of the Councill of the Bay, & independent of that of Hugly, & the Company's writting to them of their business, which has made every one of them slight and disregard the Agent and Councill's orders to them.

October 16.—Mr. Elliott, the Interloper, is gone up to Cassumbuzar with Captain Lake, to assist him in buying goods, &c^a.

October 17.—Sent Copy of Maulda General to Decca.

ordering them to procure a Perwanna according to their desire.

Wrote to Cassumbazar, pressing them to hasten down their goods, as fast as they come, that the Shippes now in Port lose not their passage about the Cape,—which was all the answer I thought convenient to give their Generall Letter of 6th Instant, to avoid running into long disputes.

October 18.—M^r Pownsett brags of his private instructions from y^e Compr^r & some great men of the Committee, that he regards nothing that's wroth him from Hugly.

October 21.—Received a General from my Nephew, Robert Hedges, at Rajaraul, advising that he had received an imperfect Perwanna from those at Decca, which ordered the Droga of the Mint to employ all the men at once, and not let them rest at times; and to deliver each man his due proportion of money every day, according to what [is] delivered in: Which is of no import, the Droga having formerly promised him a greater share in what mony [may be] delivered out than is really his due: but having heard of this Perwanna, is so enraged against Iam for complaining, that he is resolved to be revenged, and delays our business as much as possibly he can.

October 22.—A Peon, returned from Maulda, told me, whilst he was there, a Peon brought M^r Hervey a Letter from Capt. Alley. M^r Hervey gave answer to said Letter by a Peon of his own: who for 2 or 3 dayes, that he staid here for an answer, was kept privately in Capt. Alley's house, for feare any of my Peons or Servants should see him: this Peon of M^r Hervey's was mett by the same Peon of mine, about halfe way on his returne to Malda.

I know M^r Hervy has a parcell of 20 cheste of very fine Malmulls & Cossais, which he pickt up at Decca, and has a mind to send them home: 't is to be feared he will do it by Capt. Alley.

The Dutch Company in Holland have sent out

a Shipp directly for this place, with absolute power given the Supracargo, independent of the Directore: save that y^e said Directore and Councill are ordered to furnish him with what money he shall desire, and be aiding and assisting him upon all occasions with their authority. The Sopracargo is called Sig^r Lints; his businesse is to Spy into & make discovery of our Trade,—to buy Silke and Silkes as we doe,—and to see whether they may not trade directly out and home, without goeing to Batavia: which they find a tedious way, and not so beneficial to them as ours. In short, I doubt the coming out of this Ship will be of greater detriment and worse consequence than is generally apprehended by our people here. The Dutch, finding the shortness of this way, will hereafter in all probability be competitors with us in our sorts of Silke, and all other commodities which we usually trade in.

October 23.—Received advice from Ballasore of the *George & Golden Fleece*'s arrivall in that Roade the 12th Instant.

October 26.—Capt. Alley went this day in great state to visit Bulchund, with 3 Persons with him; beside 10 Englishmen with Blunderbusses, and about 80 Peons. He has agreed to pay 3½ per Cent. Custom on all goods imported and exported: upon which they parted good friends. Capt. Alley, Capt. Smith, and that Gang are frequently visited, to our shame and the Company's discredit, by every considerable person in this Factory, except my selfe, who never yett saw one of them. They and our Captains caresse one another dayly. I heare they send adventures home by them.

October 27.—The last night, M^r. James Watson desired a Dustick of me for a Budgera with some Persian Fruit to Cassumbazar. When y^e Boat was putting off, M^r. Watson ordered the Chiefe Boatman or Manjee to take in M^r. Harding and carry him to Cassumbazar. The mangel refusing to doe it without my orders, M^r. Watson struck him twice, and forced him to take him in. Thus, by the countenance

and similar practices of M^r. Beard, is the Company's Honor and my Authority slighted and contemned: otherwise they would as soone eat fire as attempt to doe it, would he stand by me, and not argue and dispute my authority, and as much as in him lyes render it contemptible. This scandalous unfaithful person, Harding, is now sent up to serve M^r. Charnock in dispight of me; though, God be praised, I live in honor and esteem, whilst Charnock, Hervy, and Beard are the most despicable persons to the Government and Native Merchants that ever lived in the country.

October 28 (Sunday).—This day I received a letter from M^r. Crosse of D^rcca, dated y^e 21st Instant, enclosing a Pa-
wanna which James Price has procured from the Nabob to our Fousdar, ordering him immediately to seize and send up to Decca the 3 Interloping Captains. I durst not give notice of this to M^r. Beard, having sufficiently experienced his prejudice and dislike of every thing I doe, and knowing his intimacy with M^r. Littleton, and meeting Capt. Alley, and sometimes at said Littleton's house—but dispatched away Mahmoot Herreef, another trusty Vekeel, to y^e Fousdar, promising him a large gratuity if he got this business effected, and y^e Captains seized and sent away to Dacca: of which I expect a good account this Afternoon. What might not be done if we were unanimous amongst ourselves, as they would and must be if [I] had authority to turne them out when they did not doe their duty!

This afternoon my Vekeel brought me word y^e Captains excused not waiting on y^e Fousdar—being Sunday.

ATT A CONSULTATION.

October 29.—The *Prudent Mary* and the *Herbert*, being positively ordered by the Hon^{ble} Com^y to be the 2 First Ships despatched from this place, we thought it convenient to send y^e *Welfare* & y^e *Kent* directly to Fort St. George, with their full Lading of Saltpetre, that they may be despatched

early from thence, and not endanger their passage about the Cape: having been a long time out of England, and not in a capacity to beat it out in bad weather. The *George* was likewise ordered to follow them with her Kintledge of Salt-petre, and to touch at all the Lower Factories to take in what goods [may be] provided at those places; and the *Golden Fleece* ordered to continue here to carry away what goods we shall have remaining after the *Prudent Mary's* and the *Herbert's* despatch.

The Fousdar sent 10 Portuguese Firelocks, 10 Peons, and 2 Horsemen to bring Capt. Alley and the rest before him.

This morning they excused going, with many frivolous excuses, writing and sending to Bulchund to intercede for them, and to enquire into y^e cause of their being sent for. In the evening the Fousdar's Soldjers (not to return empty handed to their Master) brought with them M^r. Davis, belonging to Capt. Smith, and M^r. Smith, Chief Merchant of the *William and John*. The Fousdar demanded their Captaine, and told them they shold be his Prisoners till their Captains made their appearance.

October 30.—This morning Bulchund came to give me a visit. After some previous discourse, I told him the last time he was here (about 14 months since) I promised him a Persian Horse; I had now one at his Service, which he accepted with some ceremony. Entering into farther discourse, he shewed me severall letters and Perwannas he had received from the King's Duan of Dacca, en-ordering him to demand and receive Custome of us. I replied we had lived here about 50 years without payment of Custome; the Nabob had wrott a letter to the King in our Favour; we expected their answer, and made no doubt but it would be to clear us of Custome. Bulshund told me we had waited above a year for such an answer, but assured me, it would never come without his advice and assistance; and now

required me to give my positive answer to one of these two questions :

"Whether I would consent to the payment of 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Custom upon our own Tallias or entries : Or, lett him take custom of his own subjects for all the goods they sold to us." For which he gave us time till this afternoon to consider of it.

Amidst our discourse, Bulchund told me he ~~had~~ ^{had} proposals made him by Mr. Charnock concerning payment of custom. Bulchund had replied, "What have you to doe with such proposals? You are under the Agent's direction, & I am going to him, and he and I will agree upon it."

October 31.—This morning the Interlopers made their addresses, by advice & assistance of Mr. Edward Littleton, to Bulchund, to gett Mr. Parkes and Mr. Davis out of the Fousdar's Custody, with promise of great reward. In the afternoon Bulchund sends a note to the Fousdar, telling him he would be security for the 2 Merchants in his custody, and answerable to the Nabob for all demands and pretences he would make upon them. Whereupon the Fousdar sent them to Bulchund with a guard of Soldiers, and Bulchund immediately dismiss them, and bid them go to their houses : Soe insolent and proud is this Bulchund growne with his vast state, as not to regard any Perwanna that comes from the old doting Nabob of Decca¹! The Company's affaires will never be better, but always grow worse and worse with continuall patching, till they resolve to quarrel with these people, and build a Fort on y^e Island Sagar at the mouth

¹ Shaista Khan, the Nawab of Dacca, held the government from 1663 to 1689, except during part of 1677 and 1678, when Fedai Khan, the Emperor Aurunzeb's foster-brother, held the government. Shaista Khan was son of Vizier Asuf Jah, and nephew of the Empress Moor Jehan.—*Stewart*, p. 296.

In the diary of Dec. 2, 1683, the Nawab is stated by Mr. Hastings to be then 82.

of this river, and run the hazard of losing one yeare's trade in the Bay, in $\frac{1}{2}$ of which time there's noe feare of bringing these people to our conditions. If this be not speedily taken in hand by us, there's a no doubt to be made but 't will soon be done by the Dutch, who talke of it freely, as often as we meet with them: and then we must expect to be soone turned out of this country.

November 1683.

November 5.—Bulchund, after much entreaty and fair promises, went to returne Capt. Alley's visit, but sent me word by a Merchant that he designed only to pick his pockett of Rup. 4000, which Capt. Alley was to give for the Honour done him.

This afternoon a Perwanna came to Bulchund from the Nabob of Decca, commanding Permesuradas (that great Villaine) to be turned out of his Service. Whereupon Bulchund caused it to be proclaimed by beat of Drum, that all men who had any complaint against Permesuradas should come and make their appearance and demands before him. In a few hours' time more that 3000 poor men gathered together, complaining with full mouths of his exacton and injustice towards them: some demanding Rupees 10, others Rupees 20, per man, which Bulchund very generously paid them in the Cazee's presence, to the amount of about Rupees 2000. This, it is feared, will be all y^e satisfaction that will be given for about 5 Lack of Rupees which Permesuradas has forced from y^e Merchants and poore Inhabitants, and Bulchund puts all the rest into his own Pockett, with y^e Name and great applause of doing great and exemplary justice. 'T is happy for us that we are rid of soe great a Villaine upon any score whatsoever.

November 6.—This day Capt. Wildey made complaint to me that Capt. Hayward had not justice done him, for that Hayward was an antient Commander, and had been Com-

missioned by the King; and ought to wear the Flagg, and not Capt. Lake, as was formerly ordered in my absence at Cassumbazar by Mr. Beard: whereupon I sent an order to Capt. Hayward in these following words:

"Whereas Capt. Charles Hayward, Commander of the *Henry and William*, has formerly been a Captain in His Majst Service, and is the oldest Commander now in this place, I doe desire and en-order him, the said Charles Hayward, to wear a Flagg as Admirall."

"Witness my hand. In Hugly, this 6 November 1683."

The like order, *mutatis mutandis*, I sent to Capt. Lake, to take downe his Flagg-staffe and Pendent.

This Capt. Lake, being a great dissenter, & an inseparable companion of Mr. Beard's, has taken divers occasions to affront and speak ill of me behind my back, saying that nothing is done as it should be, and that he will putt the Company in a way when he goes home: and, I am told, in common discourse speaks as near Treason as he can, not to be taken hold of by the hearers. He's a base, unv.orthy fellow, & I hope 't will lye in their power to lett him know it.

*This night I received letters from Decca. On the way they were intercepted and broke open by Mr. Charnock, which he presumes to doe, being Second of Councill in the Bay. These two Councill, of Hugly and of the Bay, cause such disorder and confusion, that I fear y^e Councill of [the] Bay will drive that of Hugly out of doors, and the Company's business too, in a little time, if speedy relief doe not come to prevent it.

November 7.—This day Bulchund sent for all those y^e made yr. complaints against Permesuradas yesterday and had money given them; and put them in Prison, forcing them to refund all they had received, and much more, to be released: and compelled all men in general y^e had ever been wronged by y^e Wicked Villaine to g.ve discharges under

their hands, sealed with y^e Cause's Seal, y^e they received their money back again. It is y^e most cursed proceeding of cruell Tyranny y^e ever I heard of in my life. I am told Bulchund has given Permesuradas a Serpau^e,¹ and restored him into favour again.

I'm certainly informed M^r. Eeard has bought a third part of y^e Shipp *Brittania*, in Company with two Interlopers, M^r. Nedham & M^r. Dowglass, and sends her to Achin, which causes his great friendship with all that party.

November 8.—The Fousdar received another Perwanna, directed to him by the Nabob of Decca, procured by James Price, forbidding any Merchant whatsoever trading with any Interlopers: & confirming his former Perwanna to send the 3 Captains to Decca. Bulchund and he had a private conversation about it—to what purpose I did not understand. I doubt, *not* to our advantage: Bulchund having granted Capt. Alley free liberty of trade, & to pass all his goods with his swne Dustick. I am told Alley has bought Bulchund's new iouse, below the Dutch Factory, for Rupees 10,000 ready money.

November 9.—The Fousdar summoned all the Merchants to appear before him, and told them he had received a Perwanna, forbidding all men to trade with Interlopers, and required every one of them to oblige under his hand not to buy nor sell with them; and if anyone had received Dadney, or Impost mony, on account of goods, if ever it be known, and not discovered to him, they must expect to be answerable for it to y^e King, and make satisfaction as far as the sale of their persons, wives, and children. I resolved, God willing, to prosecute this business to the utmost of my power, and hope to bring it to a good issue.

November 10.—Permesuradas went to sett in y^e towne belonging to y^e Dutch. Calling all men before him, he demanded 3 years' Gigeen,² or head money, wh^e he pretended

¹ Nabob, properly *car-o-pa*, "head and foot," a complete dress of honour.—² see p. 101.

they are in arrears to him, and forced it from them with all the Barbarous Rigour imaginable.

November 12.—Bulchund sent me a message that he had given order to all his Officers to stop all our trade unless I would agree to the following proposall.

"That since we had now been full 12 months, and had not yett obtained the King's Phirnaun to free us from payment of Custome, he was contented to allow us yett two months' time more from this day, provided we would then be obliged to pay him all the last and this yeare's Custome, according to our Entrys, or else we must be content not to receive or lade a parcel of goods more this Shipping."

Whereupon I called a Consultation, and thought good in such an emergency to send for all the Commanders of the Company's Shippes, & take their opinions; who unanimously concluded there was an absolute necessity to refer it to me to agree with Bulchund on these or better termes, if I could by any means procure them of him; the Government being so corrupt at present that this man does all he pleases without regard to the King or Nabob.

In the afternoon I visited Bulchund, when, after divers arguments *pro* and *con*, we came to this conclusion: That we should have free liberty to receive and lade all our goods this Monsoone or Shipping; and if before that time we could not produce the King's Phirmaun or Husbull Huckum¹ to the contrary, we would pay our Custom for this and the last year past to *him* in Hugly: upon which agreement y^e Old Fox treated me with all possible respect and kindness; and as a farther testimony, one Peter Torris, a Dutch Foreman, being imprisoned by him, besought me to procure his releasement: which I did, and 't was as readily granted by Bulchund, though he had great demands on him. To-morrow they must be compounded the best I can.

November 13.—This day Capt. Alley dyped aboard Capt. Lake of y^e *Prudent Mary*, with M^{rs}² Honor, Clerke, and divers

Interlopers, making great mirth and jollity by firing guns all the afternoon.

November 16.—Bulchund sent me word he was proffered by Capt. Alley & Co. Rupees 10,000 for himself, and Rup. 1000 for his Bramanin, to have liberty of free trade; and if I would promise to give him the like sum, he would engage to send Capt. Alley, Capt. Smith, and Capt. Read all Prisoners to Dacca, and to forbid y^e Merchants trading with them: to which I agreed, and expect Bulchund's performance of his promise.

November 17.—M^r. Derick Johnson, a Dutchman, told me y^e present Directore assured him 16 Saile of Shippes and 2000 men were ready to come & brake with this Government, when the differences happened between y^e Old and Young Kings of Bantam: and this year he is confident a sufficient strength will be sent him to require satisfaction of these people for all the affronts and indignities they have putt upon them.

This Evening Bulchund sends me word he has refused to accept of Capt. Alley's proffer of Rup. 10,000 & Rup. 1000 to his Fockeer, but will accept of mine, and send the 3 Captains to Decca: not expecting to be given the money till they are on their way past Cassumbuzar.

From Cassimbuzar I am certainly informed M^r. Naylor is there with a great sum of money, buying up all the Taffaty and other Silks he can, for the Interlopers, who employ him as their Factor, and declare to Bulchund he will pay his Customs for it. Y^e said Naylor has dayly corresponded with M^r. Charnock, having been always his intimate friend; and without question either provides him goods out of the Hon. Comp.^{'s} Warehouse, or connives at the Weavers and Piccarts doing of it. M^r. Charnock is the more to be suspected, not having given the least notice of this Villainy in any of his Gen^l. Letters, which he is wont to doe upon

1 Naylor, a broker, an intermediate dealer or agent.—Y.

other slight and trifolous occasions. I am advised from Cassumbuzar he has paid more than Rup. 2700 for Custome at 3½ per Cent, by which I conclude he has Mustered at least Rup. 20,000. Mr. Charnock must be assistant to him under hand, or 't were impossible for him to lay out soe much mony. The best of the Company's Servants (at least those that are soe esteemed) being thus subject to corruption, they can never be well served till they take the Dutch Course and Method of impowering their Agent to turne out those that offend in this nature, and y^e keepe Company and Feast dayly with y^e Interlopers, as y^e most precise of us doe here frequently, and take parts of Shipps and trade with them. If this grievance cannot be soon redressed, as discovery is made of it, y^e Company's trade can never be carryed on to their most advantage.

Three things must be done to make y^e Hon^{ble} Comp^r's trade prosperous in this Country.

1st. The Interlopers must be supprest in England. 'T is impossible to be done here. I see they will dayly grow upon us without effort.

2nd. Custome must not be paid. If we pay 3½ per Cent one yeare, we shall pay 5 the next, to excuse opening, pricing, weighing, and measuring our goods: and by degrees these people's exactions will grow to be insufferable. The duty of Custome (computing the trade which will and may easily be carried on yearly in Bengall), I conclude, will be taken on £600,000 Stock. The Custome of that money, towards 3½ per Cent, and Custome on its returnes home at 3½ per Cent more, is 7 per Cent, which will amount to £42,000 per annum: for y^e one half of which charge I will venture the said sum to take up the payment of Custome for y^e Company with this King upon such capitulations as shall be mutually most advantage, but a peremptory order to pay the said sum.

A General Regulation for y^e Trade.

there's a necessity, of Investing greater and more absolute power in y^e Agent: though he prove never soe great a Villaine, he must be intrusted (as the Directore is) for y^e present, and then a better sent in his place. He must be feared, or y^e Company's business cannot be done to advantage.

November 23.—This morning I went to visit the Fousdar, being this afternoone to sett out in his tents, in order to his going to Ballasore. He expressed great kindness, and gave me a Serpaw.¹ In the Afternoon the *Kent* was dispatched for Fort St. George with her lading of Saltpetre.

November 26.—I am advised from Cassumbazar that Mr. Naylor bought up great store of Taffatys and all other Silks, to soe great a sum as to have paid 2100 rupees for Custome, at the rate of 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ per Cent. Computing which rate, he must have bought for more than the value of 70,000 rupees.

November 30.—Capt. Alley was most kindly and respectfully entertained by the Fousdar abroad, in his tents, and had a Serpaw presented to him. The Fousdar summoned all our Merchants to come before him, and forced them to take up money of Capt. Alley, commanding to provide him goods with all speed, that he may be despatched in 15 days at farthest. Soe deceitful and base are all the Magistrates in this country, that, as I have said before, 't is impossible to suppresse the Interlopers in this country. This day despatched y^e *Hare*, Capt. Poston, for Persia, Laden with Sugar.

December 1683.

December 2.—This morning early, news was brought me our grand enemie (that corrupt Villain), Bulchund, was Dead. He fell sick in his tyrachical progress in those parts, forcing money from all persons, and continued ill till he came to his owne house at Mannedwadi, where he dyed on y^e 20th Ultimo. *Permanando* is now under the

tody of the Foudar's Officers till orders come... and the Nabob's pleasure be known who he will please to put in Bulchund's place. Whosoever comes in his place, is to be feared, will stop our goods, and force us to begin again, and bribe anew: and soe it will be when y^e Nabob dyes, who being 82 years old, and very feble, cannot live long.¹

December 4.—M^r. Johnson informed me that Capt. Minchin should say, in y^e hearing of Capt. Udall, Capt. Cossar, & M^r. Catchpoole, after his returne from Cassimabuzar, "it lay in his power to ruine two of that Factory, viz., M^r. Barker & M^r. Thredler, but that he was under an oath not to discover it." To explain this Riddle, Capt. Udall left two Servants of his behind him at Cassimabuzar, who came downe with Capt. Minchin in that Boat. They affirme M^r. Barker and Thredler delivered divers bales of Silkes to the said Capt. Minchin, as they passed down the river a little below that Factory. Thus it's plaine M^r. Charnock's favorites may doe anything, whilst M^r. Langley must not buy a few pieces of Baftaes, but they must be seized and taken from him.

December 6.—Tis advised by Mr. Charnock at Cassimabuzar that M^r. Naylor gives 15 and 20 per Cent. dearer for his Taffaties and all sorts of Silkes that he buys for the Company. When Naylor was here in Hugly, he sold those Silkes he had by him much cheaper than those bought by Mr. Charnock, as formerly noted in this Diary.

December 7.—This Evening I received advice from M^r. Crosse at Decca, that the Fousdar's Letter of this place was read to the Nabob in open Durbar on y^e 26th Ult^o, in these following words:

"That he had received the Nabob's Perwanna, and in complyance therewith had sent for the Commanders of the

¹ According to Stewart (*Hist. of Bengal*, p. 328), Shaiista Khan resigned charge circa 1689, and not before. He then retired to Agra, where he died Anno Heg. 1105, or A.D. 1693; so he survived Mr. Mathew's remark nine years at least.—R. F. B.

Interlopers' Shippes, who refused to come: whereupon he sent Peons, &c., to seize on them, but [they] were afterwards sett at liberty by Bulchund; who said he would be responsible for them to the Nabob, & that none would be their security for fear of the Old English Traders (meaning the Company's Servants). Which last sentence has done us much harm; for y^e Duan (our implacable enemy) rose up immediately and said, "These are the tricks and devices they use to let no others trade besides themselves, that then they may sell their goods at what rate they please, and be subject to no orders: whereas this New Company (as he termed them) are willing to pay 5 per Cent. Custome, which we deny; that they were merchants as well as wee; and to hinder their trade would be y^e King's damage." Here upon the old doting Nabob (being ruled since the death of Ray Nundelol by what he hears any one say) replied, "They should trade freely." Soe that now the Business being thus determined by the Nabob, there's no possibility of rooting out or doing any prejudice to Interlopers: they are more kindly treated upon all occasions than we are: and 'twill be as impossible for us to hold out long without payment of Custome, as well as they, if we doe not resolve to fall out with these people very speedily.

December 11.—A boat stopt at the Custome house; her chief Boatman declares he tooke in his lading at the English Factory at Maulda, and came with Capt^a Alley's Dustick, who received all his boat's lading. I'm credibly informed there's a clause in Alley's Charter-Party, giving liberty to M^r Hervy to lade such a quantity of goods as therein provided. 'Tis possible this boat's lading is in part of it. M^r Hervy has resigned up the management of his Factory to Mr. Peachey, being troubled with the Gout. He may doe what he pleases, he is under no control. If I should offer to put another in his place, he would be well enough again immediately to doe the Company's business himself. —

regards nothing but to enjoy his life, and live at ease upon the Company's Expences.

An account depending between a Gentleman, one of our Merchants here, and Mr. Hervy, Factor, who were requested to take the said Merchant's security till the Month of January next (the said Factor being employed at present in providing goods for this Factory), and ordered M^r. Hervy and Councill in our Gen^{ll}. letter not to give the said Gomasta disturbance till y^e time aforesaid. M^r. Hervy, notwithstanding, imprisoned the Gomasta, telling him, "the Agent and Council had nothing to doe with his management of Affaires in this Factory; nor were otherwise concerned than to remitt them money to buy the Company's cloth." This affront is insufferable; but I must have patience.

December 15.—Received answer to a General from Calcutta, wherin Mr. Charnock tells us plainly, in these following words :

"Whereas you order us to restore the Peon to George Pitinan which he had formerly, and did more busines for him than for y^e Hon^{ble} Compr, it is to be supposed (our Hon^{ble} Masters having thought fit to trust such a concerne as the charge of this Factory to our management) that we are best able to appoint whatever peons are most fitting for to watch the throwing shopp."

To this may be replyed, in his own words, — that the Compr having thought fit to intrust the Agent and Council of Hugly with y^e management of their affairs in y^e Bay, they may be as well able to judge of such a matter as M^r. Charnock. This, with his refusing to turne out John Griffin, though twice ordered to doe it, is such an affront to the Company's authority invested in me, as can be no longer endured than till the next letters out of England, without utter ruin and destruction to the Hon^{ble} East India Company's affaires here in Bengal.

December 20.—M^r. Crome advises that the

receive a Husbul Hookbum from y^e Vizier for our enjoyment of a Free Trade without payment of Custome.

December 21.—The *Prudent Mary* received her despatches for England.

December 27.—Received a letter from Mr. Crosse, advising the Fousdar of this place had wrott in y^e Interlopers' favour to the Nabob for his Phirwanna and protection of them, for which they would give him an annual present. The Nabob was ready to grant a Perwanna, had not James Price (being present) put it into the Nabob's head to send for them up thither to make the Agreement himselfe, to which end a Perwanna is dispeeded hither, and Mr. Davis will be sent of that errant, where James Price will not fail to doe him all y^e prejudice and Mischief he is able.

The Shawbunder of Bellasore wrott to the Nabob also in their Favour, and that if we left the Country, the New Company's Trade would be much the greater, and their paying Custome bring great profitt to the King, &c. The Nabob replyed he believed this was wrott out of spight, revenge, & malice; to satisfie which he would not make us leave the country, who would returne againe and take y^e Port townes, hinder and take their Shipe, and afterwards force a trade as we pleased ourselves.

The place of Customer, as well as Collector of the King's Rents, and Government of this place, is given to Aziz-beig, a person y^e speaks Turkish and showed himself my great friend at Dacca. The said Asiz-beig departed Decca for this place y^e 1st Instant.

December 31.—I am informed Mr. Naylor has this day sent down 35 bales of Silke to Capt. Alley, which he buys up at Cassumbasar, not without great probability that he is assisted by Mr. Charnock: y^e Merchants y^e usually traded with our Factory having at present an unhappy dispute and quarrel with Mr. Charnock, as if it were on purpose to make them carry their Silk to y^e Interlopers. To confirm the truth of

His information, Mr. Taylor has certainly drawn off with
Rupees 16,000 on Capt. Alley, which he has satisfied.

[End of 1683. Though this date is mentioned, as was now
the custom, till March 25, 1684.]

January 1684.

January 2.—Letters from Muxadavad advise that y^e New Governor sent by the Nabob to seize Bulchund's Estate have given his Sonn 2 of his Father's Horses, and Rup. 1000 in his purse (the young man having been entered one of the King's Soldjers in his infancy), and commanded him to go to his quarters under his Superior; and so turned him out of his house, and tooke all his Mother's Jewells from her.

They have, by information of the Servants, dug in severall places of the house, where they have found great summes of money. Under his bed were found Lacks 4½; in the House of Office, two Lacks. They [have] in all found Ten Lacks already, and make no doubt but to find more, besides vast summes let out to severall Merchants at interest, and conveyed away to other parts of the Empire, and Nine Lacks formerly owned and sent to the Nahob as soone as Bulchund dyed.

January 3.—I went this morning to visit and welcome Aziz-beig, our new Gover^r and Collector of the Customs here. He is a Persian born, and received me with great kindness and respect; assuring me of his favour upon all occasions. He speaks Turkish currently, and seems much delighted that I understand that Language. I make no question but in his time y^e Company's business will passe much better for it.

From Cassum^{bw} I am advised Mr. Charnock has taken his freedom to put me into his Diary of November last, insomuch that he caused Peons to follow a Boat with

Colours and my Dustick, whose goods were seen to be con-veyed to M^r. Dowglass his house": matter of fact is true, without y^e least circumstance or appearance of evill, as M^r. Charnock would insinuate from it.

One Sig^r. Francesci D'Acha, a Portuguese, formerly a Soldjer at y^e Fort in the time of Sir Jeremy Sambrook, having by his industry and fairdealing gotten to be master of a small Shipp, for his own and y^e English Merchants account at Syam, usually consigned himself to Capt^r. Vincent; finding him gone for England, would have recommended himselfe to me. I being opprest with more business and trouble than I was well able to manage, desired him to make choice of some other person: he chose M^r. Douglasse. About 2 months since, M^r. Duglasse came to me for a Dustick to passe his goods, first obliging [himself], if we paid Custome, to pay in like manner for all he received. This by the Councill and all mankind was judged better to doe than lett them pay Custome till y^e Company's business was settled, to avoyd an ill example. Charnock, out of malice, says (or at least suspects) these were Interlopers' Goods. I call M^r. Dowglasse before M^r. Beard and y^e Councill to declare the truth: he affirmes the goods were for account of D'Acha and his owners, except 200 pieces of Dutch Taffaties sent to Achin, and 10 Pieces for his owne account: and that he never had y^e confidence to aske me for a Dustick to passe unlawful goods, nor did I ever give him any.

Such groundlesse assertions as these are insufferable; I can no more bear them than an honest, virtuous Woman can be questioned for her Chastity. It's absolutely necessary that onc of us two be displaced. He brags never no chief was yett able to contend with him and Hervey, & makes no doubt but to give me my Mittimus this next shipping. Y^e Company best know their own concerns and advantages, and I must acquiesce in their determination, whatever it be.

January 5.—Mr. John Haynes, from Cassumbuzar, advised at large, Mr. Charnock having engaged Mr. Hervey and Mr. Pownsett to meet at a General Consultation whether I will or no: and declares they will doe such ridiculous things, that I am ashamed to discover their folly soe much as to write or take notice of them.

January 10.—Letters from Pattana advise Mr. Beard's Brother-in-Law, James Lowdon, railles at me and abuses me insufferably; saying I did y^e Compy. no service at Decca; that he could have don^e much more; and doubts not but to see me turned out with disgrace as Vincent was, by the next letters out of England: with much more to y^e like purpose. These contempts I am forced to endure at present, not to bring y^e Company's concerns into confusion.

January 12.—From Cassumbuzar 't is advised y^e Merchants and Picars appeal again to y^e Cazee for Justice against Mr. Charnock. Y^e Cazee cites Mr. Charnock to appear; he not appearing, the Merchants take a testimonyall from the Cazee, appoint a Vakeel or two for them, and pretend they will goe and complaine to y^e Nabob at Decca. In the mean time goods come slowly from that Factory: 't is probable they will not send returns of half the goods they have agreed for. I am credibly informed the persons Mr. Charnock deals with are soe poore they will not be able to answer their debts by above a lack of Rupees of what 's given out this yeare only, besides y^e remaines standing out of y^e last.

This Diary was thus far sent home to my Brother Sam-brooke & other friends in England by y^e *Herbert*, Capt. Henry Udall, Commandr, to satisfie them and justifie me in all my transactions for y^e Hon^{ble}. East India Company, which (God knows) have been allways performed with greatest dilligence & Integrity, to y^e best of my Judgement notwithstanding the false reports and aspersions of my

declared enemies in Bengall, and y^e Prejudice that some of y^e Company have unjustly conceived against me.

I omitted entring my dayly transactions in this Booke, as I ought to have done, in expectation to have gott them transcribed for me out of my Diary kept for y^e Comp^y. But that favour would not afterwards be granted to me when I was dismisse their Service.

July 1684.

1 July 2.—Falling this day into discourse with Mr. Daniel Joachim Schlu, a Dane (formerly belonging to their Factory in Bantam), amongst other things he told me that Mr. Richard Frenchfeild was, underhand, a great favorer of y^e Interlopers; particularly when Mr. Thomas Davies was at Decca. The better to conceal his goods, y^e said Frenchfield sent down his cousin Pointall to Mr. Cooke's Shippe, then riding at anchor at Kedgeria, and, under pretence of bringing up goods of his owne and his said cousin's, brought up also 20 Maunds of Opium for account of Mr. Cooke,—as he, y^e said Cooke, told Mr. Schlu, in the presence of George Herron.

The said Mr. Schlu farther told me, for an instance of Mr. Frenchfeild's dealing with Interlopers, that he had bought all y^e said Cooke's Copper and Tutenag at his first arrivall, and had now about y^e value of Rup. 3 or 400 of Cooke's in his possession, and assisted Cooke upon all occasions; notwithstanding all which kindness y^e said Cooke was so unworthy as to call Mr. Evans (y^e Minister) and him two great knaves: saying they cheated him of halfe a rupee per maund in all the Copper and Tutenag which he sold them.

Where, by y^e by, I cannot but acknowledge Mr. Evans buries himselfe too much in trade and merchandize, for a man of

the Coast: being certainly one of y^e greatest traders in Hugly.

July 7.—Received a Generall from Mr. Powneett and

Council of Decca, accompanying their Diary for ye month of May last. On the 5th of which Month (without any former advice given, or liberty desired, of this Council, as alwayes customary) Charges Rup. 305 : 10 to Account, for a Beetle Box, Plate, Arrack · Bowl, Spitting Cupp, and Silver handle for a Fan; all of Silyer; besides Rup. 50 for Cloth of Gold Pillows, and other furniture.

If this freedom be allowed to every Factory to build (as Mr. Charnock does at Cassumbažar), and to buy and provide what Plate & Furniture they please for their Chambers (as Mr. Pownsett does at Dacca), under pretence of entertaining Strangers, without notice given and liberty granted by this Agency (which is not only irregular and disrespectful to y^e character conferred on me by y^e Hon^{ble}. Comp^y, but tends like wise much to their prejudice), all things will then run into disorder and confusion.

* This day at a Consultation held concerning y^e repair of Mr. Moseley's house, which y^e Gover^{nor}. would not suffer him to mend, having a desire to it himself, Mr. Beard tooke occasion, on behalf of Mr. Thomas Ley, to affront & abuse me in a most rude & unhandsome manner; growing pale with passion, shooke his head, & made such a filthy noise with his mouth as cannot be expressed. This prejudice conceived against me (I judge, upon account of opinion in Religion, he being a most rigid Presbyterian) is so great, and y^e dayly disrespects & affronts, cast upon me so insufferable (having private information given him by Sir Josiah Child that he should be Agent), that no Public Business can be freely and calmly argued in Consultation without ending in a quarrel; which I find so exceedingly detrimental to y^e Company's concernes, that I choose to bear any thing rather than their affairs under my management shall suffer by it.

Mr. Ley, on y^e other hand (being one of y^e same profession in Religion, and judging themselves persecuted in Eng^land,

land), holds and combines with Mr. Beard in every thing, right or wrong, just or unjust, out of Malice to me.

Mr. Ley of himself knows nothing of y^e Country affaires, or of y^e Company's business, nor has he the least insight or knowledge of merchandize in general, not being skilled in the common rudements of Arithmatick, nor able to cast up any account, nor divide with 4 figures.

Mr. Pownsett, in all his Diary of May last, gives no particular account of what he had done or acted for Mr. Charnock, more than that he had sent a Gen^{ll}. to Cassum^{br}. "concerning their businesse",—as if I and this Councill of Hugly were such traytors to y^e Company, as not fitt to know what was transacted betwixt them in that grand affair of y^e Company's consernes; Mr. Pownsett being otherwise very full and particular in all other business and advices what soever.

In like manner Mr. Pownsett gives no account of what is wrott him from Cassum^{br}. more than "Rec^d. a Generall from Cassum^{br}. concerning their troubles": the said Pownsett, or Charnock, neither of them giving y^e least notice to what those Troubles are, that we might endeavour to gett them removed; which I could very easily have done at a small expence (considering y^e greatness of y^e affaire), not exceeding Rup. 2^c in 3000, the Native Merchants having wrott a Gen^{ll}. letter to me, advising they were ready and willing to stand to my award and determination of y^e differences betwixt them and Mr. Charnock: which he out of meer pride and malice would not consent unto (pretending y^e inconvenience of his coming to Hugly), that I might not have y^e credit of composing their differences.

Mr. Pownsett, in his May Diary, gives order likewise for making a Budgero without leave from this Factory; & indeed, does what he pleases, as if altogether independant of us, and a distinct Agency following y^e practice of his admired Patrons, Mr. Hervey and Mr. Charnock.

I am also this day informed M^r Charnock has ~~had~~ differences with y^e Piers and Merchants by arbitration of certain Moor Merchants, who had adjudged M^r Charnock to pay for all y^e Silke he sent home y^e last year Ru. 5 : 12 per Seer, which is halfe a rupee more than it 's worth: and together with charges, will prejudice y^e Company above a lack of rupees.

I received a letter lately from Mr. Crosse of Decca, advising me (amongst other things) in y^e following words, viz. :

"At present I have not any thing of moment to advise, but that M^r Pownsett, having wrott so often to y^e Worshipfull & to Cassum^{br}. that no Perwanna could be procured for redresse of their grievances without a present to the Nabob, which now being ordered, and he not knowing how to goe to worke to effect it, fearing y^e disgrace that may fall on him should he after all not obtaine one,—hath gott Golobray to stir in y^e business, by putting Rupees 2000 into his hands, and giving a writing, that if he gets a Perwanna he is to have ye said 2000 rup. for charges and his paines, and not to give any other account thereof."

In another letter of y^e 30th June, M^r Crosse advises me farther, viz. :

"As to what Mr. Charnock writes agst. James Price, he will be shortly with y^e Worshipfull to vindicate himselfe. And for Golobray (though he be a base fellow), I believe he hath not had any hand in hindering a Perwanna for Cassim-bazar troubles; for if he hath, certainly M^r Pownsett (from whom, I suppose, M^r Charnock must have that advice) would never have entrusted him with y^e procuring of said Perwanna. But the business is this: M^r Pownsett does despaire of getting one, and to hide his owne Ignorance from M^r Charnock, writes that Golobray and James are y^e occasion, when they have both been assisting to him;—thereby thinking to make y^e world believe you to be their master in a business detrimental to y^e Hon. Company."

By these two letters from Mr. Charles Crosse, it is very apparent how industrious Mr. Pownsett has been to cast the odium of Mr. Charnock's and his owne misarryages upon me.

July 17.—I was advised by Mr. How, Commander of y^e Company's little shipp *Thomas* (newly returned from Fort St. George) that I was Dismist the Company's Service; Mr. Beard made Agent in my place; & Agent Gifford made President of y^e Coast of Cormandell & Bay of Bengal.

July 25.—This day Five Dellolls, or Brokers, of Decca, after they had been with me, went to Mr. Beard's Chamber to pay their respects to him; taking with them James Price, y^e Veksel. Mr. Beard demanded, "Who they were?" James answered, "The Dellolls of Decca." Mr. Beard replied, "I know their business very well; I know what they come for." Mr. Frenchfeild coming into Mr. Beard's Chamber y^t very instant, said, "I am sorry these men have found y^e way to Hugly: this will spoil the Company's business"; and soe y^e men were dismisted.

Their designe in coming to Hugly was to prove to me before Mr. Pownsett's face (if thereto required) that he, y^e said Mr. Pownsett, bought cloth of Several sorts at Rupees 6, 7, & 8, which he charged to y^e Company at Ru. 10, 11, & 12, and some at Ru. 13 per piece; but finding Mr. Beard and Mr. Frenchfeild prejudiced against y^e discoverers, and unwilling to detect Pownsett's villany, and I being dismisted y^e Company's service, concerned myself no farther in y^e businesse (despairing to doe any good where I met with such opposition), but advised y^e Dellolls to returne to Decca. The like cheat was clearly proved to me against Mr. Samuel Hervy, deceased, who otherwise, by fair dealing, could never have gott Rupees 220,000, as he has done in a few years out of nothing: his first setting up being with Rup. 1500, he won, or rather cheated, at play, of a Purser of a Shipp at Ballasore, soone after his first arrival in the Bay of Bengal.

James Price assured me y^e M^r Pownsett, appearing in Pabtik Durbar at Decca in y^e business of M^r Charnock, the Nabob commanded him "to be gone out of his sight"; saying, "y^e English were a company of base, quarrelling people, and foul dealers."

July 29.—M^r Charnock, in his letter of this date, says the Chief of Decca had procured y^e Nabob's Perwanna to have their differences arbitrated by Merchants, whereas this Perwanna was procured by Arz-daat,¹—else why was it not procured by M^r Charnock's letter, which y^e Nabob rejected, refusing to answer it?

In truth, M^r Pownsett was proffered this Perwanna long since, when James Price was there, if he would have given for it Rup. 600; since which time M^r Pownsett has agreed to give Goolobray R. 2000 to procure him this Perwanna, upon condition that he is to give no account of its expence: which, with y^e help of my Arz-dast, he procured accordingly.

August 1684.

August 16.—We had news brought us that 4 Dutch Shippes were arrived in y^e Ganges as high as Barnagur from Batavia. They report Gen^l. Spilman & his Second of Councill are both dead; that y^e 3rd of Council, one Camploys by name, is made General; and that M^r English had been there, from y^e Comp^y, in a Shippe of 60 Guns. At his arrival they told him y^e King of Bantam would not suffer him to goe into y^e Road of Bantam, but that (if he pleased) he might goe to Batavia and buy refreshments: of which proffer he accepted, and was afterwards dismisse, not being suffered to lade a penny worth of goods. The Dutch men could not inform us whether M^r English returned for England or went to Suratt.

¹ Arz-dast, practically the same as arz (vulg. arze), "a petition".—Y.

On these Shippes came one Mr. Thomas, the
Factor of all India for several years in Batavia, now made Commrⁿ Gen^l. of all India, which gives him precedency of y^e Gov^r Gen^l himself, and impowers him to call all persons what-
ever to account for all their actions. He has condemned
the late Gen^l. Spilman's estate (after his death) to pay
rup. 90,000 to y^e Company; and displaced y^e Secretary
Gen^l. (though his own brother-in-law), fixing him y^e sum of
P. 1 60,000, of all which sums y^e said Commrⁿ is to
have $\frac{1}{2}$ part. He is to goe to all Factories in India, and to
command what Shippes he pleases to wait on him; to ex-
amine all books; inspect and enquire into all their affaires;
& to regulate all their concernes as he thinks convenient,
and judges may tend to their most advantage. He brings
with him a Fisall and a Secretary, Divers Servants, 24
soldiers in Red Coats, with a Sergeant, Corporal, Drummer,
& 4 Trumpetars.

It's likewise reported by those that come in these Shippes
that the Dutch, hearing of our preparations and designe in
England to send w^t 18 Shippes to restore the King of Ban-
tam, the Hollanders had fitted out and manned 14 men of
War from 54 to 75 great Guns apiece, y^e least of which had
200 White men in them besides Natives, with 4 Fire Shippes
to fight us and endeavor to frustrate our designe.

August 19.—M^r. W^m. How, Command^g of y^e Company's
Shippe Thomas, gave me a Visit after dinner in my Chamber
& desiring to speake with me in private, I tooke him into
my Counting House, where, after a respectfull preambulo
begging excuse for y^e freedom he tooke with me, told me
he observed in general discourses with divers persons belonging
to the Factory (whose names he would not discover)
that there was a conspiracy and combination to make
to doe me all y^e prejudic^e they could, and, now therefore

"The Friends to the Company
desire to be informed."

intend to give me to an account for you to be
paid in yr Company's service, the particulars be
and could not learn.

Secondly, That all endeavours would be used to
my going home the way I intended, by Persia,
overland.

I demanded for what reasons these persons intended to deal so unkindly with me: whether he knew any order y^e Company had made formerly, or lately sent out, to y^e Admiralty? M^r How replyed, "he knew of no reason nor order, but was confident endeavors would be used to stop me if they could." I then told him, "after this role they might as well rob or plunder me of all I had, bind and send me home in Chaines, as exercise such arbitrary power." He had nothing more to say to that; but advised me to beware of what he had told me, and prevent it if possible: telling me farther my adversaries would pretend this way of going home would be prejudicial to y^e Company, & an occasion for all men to take y^e same course. I thought all men had y^e Freedom to goe home which way they pleased, till y^e Company forbade it, & that divers persons had both gone & come this way before me.

M^r. How informed me farther, 't was reported I had conveyed away my Estate out of y^e Factory, & had putt it into y^e hands of y^e Company's Chief Bapian. I assured him the contrary; that I had all my present Caah in the house, & intended to keepe it there till y^e President's arrival, not doubting that I should find him a person that feared God, and soe far respected y^e law as to doe no unjust action; with other words to y^e same purpose. I gave him my hearty thanks for his kind information, and so we parted.

August 21.—The Dutch Director sent to know whether he and his Lady might give me a visit some time this week. I sent him word he should be kindly welcomed whenever he pleased.

The said Messenger told me they had 12 Ships ready to lay out this year from Holland to Batavia.

August 27.—I received a letter from Mr. Stables (Commander of y^e Fort), dated yesterday, from aboard y^e Sloops, 4 miles below Jan Pardo, advising President Gyfford was arrived there (but had not y^e manners to write me himself), and ordered 4 Budgeros and 10 or 12 great boats with provisions to be sent down to him wth all expedition. Whereupon I immediately despatched Mr. Frenchfield, Mr. Johnson, & Mr. Ley to his Honor, with 3 Budgeros, boats, and provisions.

August 28.—I borrowed the late Dutch Fiscall's Budgero, and went in Company with Mr. Beard, Mr. Littleton, Mr. Dowglaste, Mr. Innes, Capt. Browne, Capt. Hayward, Capt. Pyne, Capt. Norgrove, Capt. Bunes, & Dr. Harwar, as far as y^e Devil's Reach, where I caused y^e tents to be pitched, in expectation of y^e President's arrival, and lay here all night.

Our boats lay in a very fine Eddy, spacious enough to receive 100 Ships, where they may ride free from y^e danger of y^e Freshes; this being, in divers men's opinions, the most convenient place in all the River to build a Factory.

August 29.—The President not appearing, we took up our tents & fell down to Tittaghur, where we dyed. Soone after I was advised of y^e President's being come from Karougar, from whence he arrived a little before sunset, with all his company, which, together with the Soldiers, were numerous. We lay here till after Midnight; and for better convenience I left y^e company of Mr. Beard, &c. in the Dutch Budgero, and lodged with Mr. Dowglaste, whose Budgero being heavy, & I wth a wth of his company went to my boat; him, we were not able to get out of the boat, so as to lay him, & were forced to leave him in the boat, & lay him on the deck, which was very uncomfortable.

out boat aland; but making slow advance, Mr. Beard and Mr. Innes, & I went aboard of Capt. Brown's Fluynt, which came rowing by us. Crossing over y^e River to avoid the violence of y^e Current, we were forced by y^e stream to the other side, the water carrying us with that strength that no man could not prevent the boat's head running and striking against y^e bank, which caused a great lump of earth to fall into our boat; with which, y^e boat turning her side to y^e bank, another vast quantity of earth, containing divers stones, fell downe; but it pleased God that only a little part fell into our boat: had we been halfe a foote nearer y^e bank we had all been drowned,—the best swimmer (so I am informed) not being able to save himselfe in y^e midst of so many violent Eddys or Whirle Potes: for which great deliverance I beseech y^e Lord to make me truly thankfull. After this escape I went about a mile by land in y^e rains and dirt, but spying a boat coming towards us with some of y^e President's Soldiers, we prayed them to take us in; one of them, knowing me, did it very readily. In y^e boat was Captain Richardson, commander of y^e Soldiers, who treated me with the greatest respect and civility. With this boat I got near y^e Dutch Garden, where y^e President and all his retinue had been some time arrived; and seeing I came not. Mr. Littleton sent his Palankeen & Peons to meet me, who carried me with all speed to the Garden, where I was not sooner arrived, but I immediately embarked with y^e President and Mr. Beard in y^e Company's great Badger, and arrived in Hughly about 4 o'clock in y^e afternoone.

August 30.—A Dutch Shippe riding over against this Factory saluted us with 11 guns as we passed by her. Coming near our Factory, the Shippe Aza, Capt. Brown began to fire guns, in one of which (by y^e Gunner's report) was a shot. No sooner was y^e President got ashore than Mr. Beard, y^e Governor, complained of a soreness in his side, and could not stand. We were to have had a

accommodate the matter; but failing of their designe, let fall y^e pretence.

About halfe an hour after y^e President's arrival in Hugly Factory, he called me, M^r Beard, M^r Francis Ellis, M^r Richd^d Frenchfeild, M^r Thomas Ley, and M^r Richard Gough, into the Counting Hcuse, to hear his Comission read; which being done by John Stables,¹ his Secretary, I wished his Honor much joy, with y^e rest of y^e Company, assuring them I did readily and willingly suomit to y^e Company's pleasure: to which the President made no other reply but "t was very well". The Secretary showed me the seal to the Commission, telling me "t was the Company's". I replied, "I made no doubt of it."

September 1684.

September 1.—President Gyfford² called a Consultation; being sett, he sent for me, desiring me to produce my Cash Booke, and deliver up y^e Company's Cash: which I did immediately, & tooke M^r John Beard's receipt for its ballance.

He then demanded "Whether I had opened and stopt M^r Beard's Letter, which he would have sent home per y^e Defence to Sir Josia Child?" and read Capt. Heath's certificate of that business, with some other discourse to y^e same purpose.

Having heard what y^e President said, I desired y^e favour to aske y^e President and Council a question or two before I returned them an answer, which being granted,

First, I desired to know "Whether I was diemist the Company's Service or not?"

¹ Mr. John Stables, afterwards chief i.t. Visagapatain, and killed, with four other factors, in 1689, when the Mogul decided upon expelling the English.—Bruce, *Annals*, vol. ii, 650.

² President Gyfford was "dismissed" in 1687, and succeeded by Mr. Yale.—Bruce, *Annals*, vol. ii, 571. Date of letter not given.

They tolld me "They were of opinion I was dismissed from the Service."

Then I desired to know by what Authority or direction they asked me this question.

The President tolld me they had no other authority for it but y^e Company's Letter. The Paragraph being read relating to that busesse, it was said they should make enquiry to know whether I had stopt M^r Beard's letter or not? I bade them enquire where they pleased, & then they would know the Relation that was given them was notoriously False. However, I thought my selfe no-ways obliged to stand two tryalls for one and y^e same offence; adding that when I was next tryed for this fault it should be before impartiall Judges and an equall Jury, who, I hoped, would give me good satisfaction for y^e great damage and prejudice I had received, if they did not find me guilty. Besides, I tolld them I thought it a great dishonor to y^e Company to make any question of y^e truth of that for which they had not only judged and condemned, but punished me also for, by dismissing me their Service, without suffering me to speake for my selfe: that this manner of proceeding was like those that hanged a man first, and examined y^e business afterwards.

Upon this answer the President tolld me, "They had no more to say to me at present": whereupon I tooke my leave and retired to my Chamber.

September 3.—The River of Ganges is risen so high as it has not been known in y^e memory of man—the water being 3 or 4 foot high in y^e Bazaar. It is reported more than 1000 houses are fallen down in y^e Duteh Quarters, and boats may row round their Factory in Hugly.

September 4.—I received Letters from Decca of y^e 14th Ult^o, advising the Waters were risen so high that men waded to their middle in most of the Streets.

At Pattana they say the whole country is over flowne; that

they fear this fore-warned will be the case, and the scarcity of all provisions.

September 16.—About 1 o'clock this morning there was a sudden and violent Storm of Wind, lightning, and thunder, accompanied with fierce showers of rain, which continued all this day.

September 17 & 18.—The Storm continued: the Wind variable between the N.E. and S.E., the Moon two days after Full. The wind, after this storm, springing up at North, 't is generally concluded the monsoon is broken up for this year.

We hear it blew hard those three days, viz., y^e 16, 17, & 18 instant, at Balasore; and if it should prove [the end, yet] y^e monsoon has [been] very favourable in respect of other years.

September 23.—President Gyfford and most of y^e Councell, especially M^r Beard, carrying themselves very unkindly and disrespectfully towards me, I was no longer able to endure their insolent behaviour; and being resolved (as soon as I could gett a convenient house) to leave y^e Factory, I removed this afternoon to a house in y^e Dutch quarters, where Mr. Vincent lived 2 years since, being y^e best house procurable in all y^e towns, for which I was beholding to y^e present Dutch Directore, Sig^r. Martinus Huyman, who ordered the proprietor of it to lett me have it upon the first intimation of my desire to hire it.

September 26.—I went to visit the Dutch Directore and give him thankes for his kindness in so readily ordering a house for me in his quarters. He obliged me to stay Supper with him, treating me with great civility and respect.

September 29.—M^r Jonah Willshaw gave me a discourse he told me he had lately been with Mr. Huyman who spoke many interesting and instructive things, declaring amongst other things that

it grieved his Spirit exceedingly, and he was very loth to leave his house, to see every body continue to show him the same respect, and wondered why, and for what cause, they did it.

October 1684.

October 3.—President Gifford set out for Cassumbumar, with Merchant with him but Mr. Richard Gough; all y^e men were his own attendants, who came with him from y^e Fort (i.e., Fort St. George).

November 1684.

November 6.—The Dutch Director sent to desire he might be permitted to give me a visit this afternoon.

I sent him word he should be heartily welcome whenever he thought fit to doe me the Honour; so he came accordingly, bringing with him his Lady and his Daughter, Mr. Meadcock, y^e Fiscall, and another of the Council, together with Mr. Hendrick Ben, their Chaplain, or Domine, as they call him.

November 10.—I went to meet President Gifford at y^e English Garden, on his returne from Cassumbumar, where he arrived y^e last night, but thought good to continue to repose himselfe there till y^e nation [?] could come and wait upon him, and conduct him to y^e Factory. We dined all together, and at 3 in y^e afternoon embarked on y^e Budgero, and in lesse than an hour's time arrived in y^e Factory at Hugly. On y^e way I heard y^e President declare he was now very well assured y^e trade of this place could never be carryed on, and managed to y^e Company's advantage, till they fell out with the Government, which could oblige them to grant us better termes: which he thought very sensible. And this is no more than I advised y^e Honourable Company and all my friends in England two years ago, when I was sent to y^e Factory, and when I returned to England, in a few days after my arrival in y^e Factory.

November 11.—This Afternoon, between 2 and 3 o'clock, Mr. Francis Ellis sent me a letter by a Peon (Capt. Charles Haywood, Commander of y^e *Henry & William*, and my cousin, Nathanael Letten, standing by me when I received it). I found it to be a most scurrilous, base, railing letter from Thomas Haggerston, with an adjourned Account Current to it, wherein he makes me his debtor no lesse than Rup. 197,998: 8.

It seems y^e letter was sealed up and directed to me from Balasore by y^e said Haggerston; but Mr. Ellis tooke y^e freedom to break it open and detayne it to show President Gifford, when he returned from Cassumbazar, and then sealed it up and sent it to me: Captain Hayward telling me, so soon as he saw the letter, he believed it was the same letter which Mr. Ellis shewed him and Capt. Browne this morning together; so that y^e opening and detaining a letter of mine is no crime in them, though it be judged so in me.

November 13.—Bullubdas, one of y^e Company's Merchants, gave me a visit this day, telling me, amongst other relations concerning y^e Company's affairs, that Mr. Edward Littleton was desired by President Gifford to goe up to Cassumbazar to buy him some silke, where y^e said Littleton has agreed for 200 bales for account of the President, who, by y^e Company's orders, is not permitted to trade in that commodity. If this relation should prove a mistake, [still] I am certaine the President kept a most intimate and friendly correspondence with Mr. Littleton all y^e time he was at Hughly, and invited himself to supper at Mr. Littleton's house, and carried Mr. Charnock with him, who was Littleton's mortal and inveterate Enemie. I never duret take upon me to visit Mr. Littleton, or show him, or any other person, such respect, whom the Company declared an Interloper. But it seems the provert is verified, that One man may better steal a horse than another man looks over y^e hedge.

This well knowne hote kind of President has been to a Gentlewoman at Madras who come passenger upon Capt. Alley to Porto Novo; that Agent Board, Mr. Hedges (the Minister), & Mr. Frenchfield were often in company with y^e Interlopers, especially y^e two latter, who are seldom without their Company, and at a convenient season will saw y^e .

This Afternoon Mr. Richard Gough told me that Mr. Richd. Frenchfield had signed two certificates against me, of which one, subscribed by himselfe alone, that he is informed I tooke 8000 Rupees of y^e Merchants at Bellacore for a Bribe; the other Certificate he signed in company with Mr. Roger Braddyl, declarng that he y^e said Richard Frenchfield, had complained to me of Mr. William Johnson ill sorting the Company's goods, to their great prejudice. To which I made Answer. "I had no friend in y^e Country but Mr. Johnson, and that if he sorted y^e cloth otherwise than it ought to be, either he or his Father in England must be answerable for it, and make the damage good to the Company."

Mr. Braddyl declares I said, "If I should looke into & make strict enquiry & examination of every little complaint, the Company's business would be delayed & return not made them in time for y^e Shippes to save their passage, which latter (of two evils) would be the greatest." These are y^e words, or to this purpose (as near as I can remember), that Mr. Gough told me. More than that, he assured me in general y^e President and Council (to his knowledge) were resolved to use all possible means and endeavours to disturb and ruin me, if they can, before I leaue Bengal, and particularly, he told me, they intended, by a some means or other, to hinder my Voyage to Persia, and "probably (said Mr. Gough), this is the course they have thought good to pitch upon for that purpose". I pray God of his infinite mercy to defend and preserve me from all their malitious contrivancies.

November 14.—Discoursing with Mr. Robert Dowglas, he told me, 'twas reported amongst y^e adverse party, that now there was a contrivance found out (most likely to be that of Haggerston's going to Decca) to stop my voyage to Persia; but he was not willing to tell me ye person's name who said it.

I was this morning informed by Mahmood Herreef, y^e Comp.'s Vakeel, that Meleck Burcoordar, y^e King's Fousdar, pretended he would heare & judge of a complaint made to him by Thomas Haggerston, "that I had seized & taken from him to y^e value of near two lacks of Rupees, and particularly in ready money R. 6664 : 10," for which sum y^e said Fouzdar demanded my receipt. Whereupon I went immediately to Agent Beard, declaring to him my innocency in this business, desiring him to take care I might not suffer by such unjust proceedings; to which he made me this cold reply, "He would doe what he could for me"; by which I easily perceived, if any misfortune happened, I must bear the brunt of it myselfe.

Bullubdas assures me President Gyfford brought downe 60 Bales of Silke from Cassumbuzar for his own Account.

November 17.—Mr. Derrick Johnson, a Dutch man, formerly employed as Skipper for y^e English in severall voyages, tolld me that all y^e Tissinda Sugar Boats belonging to y^e Dutch were arrived at Hugly, and our Sugar Boats stopt at Meerdaspoor: that y^e Directore was long since advised their Petre Boats were discharged from Pattana & on their way to Hugly,—y^e Great Mogul having ordered Shaste Chan, Nabob of Decca, not to permit any Stop to be put upon the Hollanders' negociations, nor prejudice to be done them, for that they were very potent at Sea, and might be provoked to stop their Pilgrims or Haggis going to Mecca, who he desired might goe and returns with greatest freedom.

If the Company thought fit to bestir themselves in this

manner, it would questionless produce like effect; and till they quarrel with this Government (as I have often said, and advised my friends) it can never be expected that their Trade should prosper in India, especially in these parts.

November 21.—Mr. John Pownsett arrived from Decca. Tis reported his chief errand is to complain of me and James Price, accusing us to y^e President and Councill. The particulars I cannot yet be informed. I can clearly prove him a false person, and unworthy their service as any one that they ever employed.

November 22.—Mr. Richard Gough came this day to my house, desiring to reside with me, assuring me that he was now resolved to adventure his life and fortune, and goe overland with me into England, by way of Persia and Aleppo. He gave me to understand, though not in direct plaine terms, that y^e Company had given y^e President & Council orders, in case they saw it for their interest, to quarrell and break friendship with the Government; to which y^e President and Mr. Charnock readily assented, and gave their opinions that no good was to be done with these people without compulsion. But Mr. Beard, Mr. Ellis, Mr. Frenchfeild, & Mr. Ley, for their owne private interest and regard, to carry on their little trade in y^e Country, being persuaded to this opinion by Mr. Evans, the Minister, declared themselves of a contrary judgement, and would not consent to it.

November 23.—It rained and blew very hard all this day; y^e Wind began at S.E. in y^e morning, and thence veered to y^e North and N.W., where it blew hardest. We were in good hopes all the stormy and bad weather had been past for this season. The Moon was in y^e last quarter, about 25 dayes old.

November 25.—Dr. Harwar tolld me that Mr. Frenchfeild and two more of y^e Council accompanied Mr. Pownsett on Saturday night, the 22nd instant, to visit Mr. Thomas Davies, y^e Interloper,—a notorious shame, y^e y^e Company's Servant.

should hold so friendly and intimate a correspondence with their greatest enemies:

Nov: 26. -- This day, between 5 and 6 o'clock in y^e Afternoon, Capt: Richardson and his Sergeant came to my house in y^e Chinchora, and brought me this following message from y^e President and Councill, viz: v

That M^r Gough being one of y^e Company's Servants, y^e President and Councill desire me not to entertaine him in my house, nor suffer him to goe with me in the Shippe I intend to goe in to Persia; also to see him quickely v

To which Message (in presence of M^r Gough) I returned this following answer, or words to the same effect: "That I intended no disrespect to y^e President and Councill nor to entertaine any one that is in y^e Company's Service. That M^r Gough told me, when he came first to my house, he was dismisse y^e Company's Service, and for their better assurance and satisfaction, I asked M^r Gough the question before them, Whether he was y^e Company's Servant or not? who readily replied, I am not; and that y^e said President and Council had given him leave to returne home for England, and y^e he was ready to depose he lay under no promise or obligation to them, not to goe home by way of Persia; and being a free born Subject of England, and knowing no order of y^e Company's forbidding his going home by way of Persia, thought it very lawfull of him soe to doe. And if he did any thing contrary to y^e obligation he lies under to y^e Company, he and his security are ready to answer it in England."

As to y^e latter part of Capt: Richardson's message, "Not to suffer M^r Gough to goe with me in y^e Shippe I intend to goe in to Persia", I returned this Answer: "That M^r Gough was not yet fully resolved whether he would go with me or not. When I knew his mind more fully I would give them notice. In the mean while depriv'd time to consider of it."

To the truth of which we have here unto subscribed our hands the day and years above written.

W^m. HEDGES. RICHARD GOUGH.

November 27.—Captain W^m. Hilder, commander of the *Gudah Merchant*, confirmed y^e same news tolld me y^e 26th instant by Dr. Harwar, that Mr. Frenchfeild, Mr. Ley, & Mr. Pownsett went on Saturday night last (being y^e 22nd Current) in y^e afternoon to visit Mr. Davies, y^e Interloper, and staid with him till 11 at night.

President Gifford and Councill sent me a letter by Capt. Richardson and Sergeant Tidford in these following words.

"Hugly, 28th Nov. 1684.

"To William Hedges, Esq".

"Sir,—Whereas we sent to you on y^e 26th Instant Lieutenant Richardson and Sergeant Tidford with a message, That M^r Richard Gough, being one of y^e honorable Company's Servants, we desired you not to entertaine him in your house, nor suffer him to goe with you in the Shippe you intend to goe in to Persia; to which you were pleased to returne the following answer by the same persons, v.i.k.:

"That you have no disrespect to us, nor doe entertain any of the Company's Servants. That M^r Gough tolld you he was clear of the Company's Service. When he came to your house he desired a lodging, and soe being destitute (you understanding him to be a Civill Gentleman) you gave him a lodging. And as to his going with you into Persia, he is wavering and unsettled in hi. mind; but when you knew the certainty of his mind, then you would return an answer to us."

"Therefore this is to acquaint you that (whatsoever M^r Gough hath said, or pretends he will sware) we declare that we have not dismiss him y^e Hon. Comp.^s Service, or given him any further liberty then to goe home upon one of the Hon. Company's Shipps, which was all he desired: so that we expect your compliyance with y^e first message we sent you. This is all at present from

"Ycar Friends and Servants,

WILLIAM GIFFORD.

JOHN BEARD.

FRANCIS ELLIS.

RICH. FRENCHFIELD.

THOMAS LEY.

JOHN OXBOROUGH.

To which preceding letter I returned y^e this following Answer.

"To y^e Hon^m W^m Gyfford,

"President & Council. Chinchem, 28th Nov. 1684.

"Hon^m Sirs.—I confess y^e report given y^e Hon^m & Council by Capt. Richardson and Sergeant Tidford is very agreeable to what I told them; I am most heartily sorry for the occasion of it, and beseech your pardn for not returning my positive answer to your letter now sent me till to-morrow morning, when I will not fail to wait upon your Hon^m & Council, and hope to give you good satisfaction in what [is] required of

"Your Hon^m most humble Servant."

November 29.—This morning, according to my promise, I waited upon y^e President and Council. I used all the Arguments I could to persuade them not to use any violence or rigour towards Mr. Gough, desiring them to peruse their own consultation Booke, particularly that of y^e 26 of September last, or thereabouts, where they declare they could not dismiss Mr. Gough y^e Comp^y Service, not having done or committed any act to deserve it; but they further declare the Company would not compel any man to serve them against their will, and upon y^e score gave him liberty to goe home, advising him only not to goe with me by way of Persia.

I took further occasion to informe y^e President and Council that I conceived this last letter of theirs (where in they acknowledge they had given him liberty to goe home on one of y^e Company's Shipps), and Mr. Gough not consenting or covenanting to any such proviso (as he proffered to depose), the worst that could be said of it was, That he, the said Mr. Gough, and his Security were bound to answer the damage that should arise to the Company by his going home this way, more than if he went home upon one of their Ships. To which little of moment was replied, more than, That they who gave him liberty to goe home understood it to be with such a covenant and restriction, and were resolved (as President Gyfford, very gravely tolld me when he was non-plus^t) not to be baffled in the business.

Agent Beard asked me, Wherefore I appeared for Mr. Gough, and espoused his quarrel. I answered, my appearance was only to make good my promise yesterday to them, and not espouse any one's quarrel. Mr. Gough & I were both here in their power; and they might doe what they pleased with us. Whereupon they ordered Mr. Gough to attend the result of their consultation, and permitted me to take my leave of them.

I was no sooner gott to my house, but News was brought me that Mr. Gough was seized and secured in a violent manner by the Sentinel, and confined to a Chamber by y^e President: the truth of which was confirmed to me by a note from Mr. Gough himselfe, who desired I would come and speake with him this Afternoon; which I did, and found him in a Chamber of the President's Lodgings. At my departure, Mr. Gough accompanied me down the Stayers to my Palan-keen, where, meeting with Captain Richardson, Mr. Gough asked him whether he was his prisoner or not? Capt. Richardson told him he was. Mr. Gough demanding, "By whose Order?" Capt. Richardson replyed, "By Order of y^e President and Councill." The Corporal, at my coming into y^e Factory, told me likewise that Mr. Gough was under restraint, but I might freely speak with him.

December 1684.

December 6.—This Afternoon President Gyfford and Coun-cill sent to speak with me. When I was with them, they discoursed and examined me about several transactions. First, concerning Mr. Thomas Hill's estate, who dyed at Rajmahal. I told them I had never any of it in my posse-sion; that my Nephew Hedges had about 5000 Rupees of his which he would not suffer Mr. Catchpoole (who was his Executor) to carry away with him; and for y^e same my Nephew would be accountable to them. Next they dis-

coursed me about Goolohray, and the sending James Price to Decca; about Mr. Johnson's ill-sorting of Goods, when Agent Beard told me he had ordered Mr. Braddyll to put out of y^e way one Bale of every sort of Goods, and protested he knew not what was become of them.

'Tis observable, by y^e way, that Mr. Beard confesses here, before y^e President and Council, in a boasting way, that he had ordered Mr. Braddyll to tell a notorious Lye; whereas he always pretends to be more righteous than any other person, and that he would not willingly commit y^e least sinne for y^e greatest good in y^e World.

President Gifford and Council discoursed me likewise concerning Mr. Cough and my going home by way of Persia. The President took great paines, with most impertinent, rediculous arguments, to dis-swade me from going that way; but could not tell me the least appearance of Prejudice, or make out any damage that would come to y^e Company by it: and whereas he pretended the Company might have a great desire to speak with me (which argument he most enforced), I told him he had no reason to insist upon that, in regard the Company had permitted me to stay here, or at Fort St. George, another yeare if I pleased,—which stopt his mouth. After an houre & halfe or two hours' frivolous, impertinent tattle, I tooke my leave of them.

This night, about 6 o'clock, y^e President left y^e Factory at Hugly, and lay at y^e Dutch Gardens, about 3 miles down y^e River.

December 7.—This being Sunday, the President diverted himself (as he told me the next day) with shooting and walking abroad in y^e fields.

December 8.—I went to visit President Gifford at y^e Dutch Garden, & take my leave of him. After dinner, Capt. Richardson, Commandant of the Soldiers, told us that, passing by the Dutch Shippes, they haled y^e Boates, asking them "Whether they were going to Bantam with their Soldiers";

which so much enraged the President y^e he vowed all manner of revenge that lay in his power when it should please God to bring him to y^e Fort, especially in regard y^e Duch had so much slighted and distrespected him at Hugly as not to take y^e least notice of him since his arrival in these parts, and had always shewne themselves exceeding kind and respectfull to me.

About 5 in y^e Afternoon, finding my selfe somewhat indisposed, I tooke my leave of y^e President, wishing him a good voyage, and a safe returne to y^e Fort.

I must needs say, for all the good he has done here, it had been greatly for y^e Company's Interest that he had never come to y^e Bay, not having done the least single action to compose and settle, but rather to disjoyn and embroyle, all their affaires, which will now very hardly be brought to run in their wonted channels for many yeares: which course was inconsiderately and imprudently taken on purpose to undoe all that I had done, and enter upon new measures, thereby (if possible) to putt a Slur upon my conduct; whereas it was absolutely necessary for y^e present state of y^e Company's affaires to remaine in y^e posture, and to be carried on with the same method as begun—unless they had resolved to quarrel with y^e Government.

December 14.—Mr. Haynes, coming from Cassimb^r, gave me a visit, and told me another fresh Perwanna was come from y^e Nabob, commanding y^e Fousdar of that place to send Mr. Charnock to Decca, or force him to pay y^e Merchants R. 45,000, for Ballance of all accounts due to them; whereas Mr. Charnock pretends y^e said Merchants are Debtors to y^e Company the Sum of R. 150,000: soe that by this account the Company will be prejudiced near two Lacks of Rupees. Besides, Mr. Haynes tells me (to his knowledge) Mr. Charnock has never adjusted accounts with y^e Merchants since M^r Littleton's time, but has always continued to give out new Daddu without clearing of old accounts.

December 15.—James Price assured me that about 40 years since, when y^e Island called Gonge Sagur was inhabited, y^e Raja of y^t Island gathered yearly Rent out of it to the amount of 26 Lack of Rupees; and that y^e same Raja had a Country belonging to his Government extending from y^e River of Rangopula to the great River that comes from Rajamaul, which brought him in yearly 45 Lacks of Rupees. This country affords great Store of large Timber to build Shippa.

December 17.—Sig^r. Nicolo Pareres, a Portugall Merchant, assured me their whole community had wrott y^e Vice King of Goa, and besought him earnestly to send them 2 or 3 Frigates, with aid and assistance of Soldiers, to possess themselves of y^e Islands of Kegeria and Ingellee, for which purpose they had sent him draughts and large descriptions of y^e said Islands.

December 23.—James Price tolld me he had advice from y^e King's Court, that his hopes of getting a Phirnaun not to pay Custome is now frustrate, Mr. John Pownsett having given under his hand at Decca (and thereby become obliged) to pay Custome of 3½ per cent.; whereas in all my time y^e Duan was afraid to receive money under y^e title of Custome, for fear it should be pretended by us hereafter that he forced it from us.

This afternoon I visited the Dutch Director, & desired the favour of him to lett me have a Pilot to carry my Shippe through the new found Deepe by y^e Island of Gonge Sagur: which he faithfully promised, with many expressions of kindness and respect to me.

December 25.—This evening information was given me that Haggerston had advised y^e Fouzdar, from Decca, that he had visited Mirza Muzzaffer and y^e King's Duan, who were both very kind to him; that they had brought him to speak with y^e Nabob, who had assured him of his Permission to bring me on Agent Board before him, and would do all in his power

If it came to this issue, I knew very well upon what a storm would fall, and therefore took a resolution to go aboard Shippe the next morning as far as Barnagur, 20 miles below Hooghly, being well assured this wicked designe of stopping of me proceeded from our own Nation, who should have protected me with all their power,—the seizing of Haggerton's estate, which he ran away with all from Surat, being done meerly at y^e request of y^e two Presidents of Surat and Fort S^t George, for ye Nation's Honour & Service of y^e Comp^y; y^e present Agent Beard, M^r Johnson, and M^r W^m Frenchfeild having signed to every paper, and acted with me joynly in this affaire. Yett so barbarously malicious have they shewne themselves, as not only to use their utmost endeavours to stopp my Shippe and Goods, thereby frustrating my designe of going home by way of Persia, but doe what in them lyes also to expose my person to y^e crueltynny of y^e Mogulls, who are very ready to embrace all such opportunitys of getting money upon any account what soever: our people little considering that by these indirect, inhumane courses they make an example for themselves to be served hereafter, when occasion presents, & so by degrees bring all y^e disputes and controversies arising betwixt ourselves to be determined by the Moor's Justice, or Who bids most? which will prove soone a severe Rodd to whipp our owne Briches.

December 26.—This morning early I sent for M^r. Hendrick Ben, y^e Dutch Domine, who had always profest himself my great friend, desiring him to present my Service to y^e Directore, and tell him y^e reason of my suddain Departure to pray him to lett me wear his Flag in my Badgero downe the River, and to assure him, though I had not time to take my leave of Agent Beard (not thinking it safe), yett his house being in my way, I resolved to waite upon him.

Here y^e Dutch Boor showed himself in his natural colouring (I believe it impossible to know a Hollander

temper and naturall hatred to an English man, or man in any other part of y^e world as in India.) So sape as he found I was in danger of falling into trouble, he sent me word by y^e same Messenger, "He durst not lend me a Flang nor assist me in anything whatsoever; and as for my Visit, if I pleased, he accepted of y^e will for y^e deed." This I looked upon as so ungentle & clownish a message, that I neither tooke my leave of him nor applied my selfe to him any more for a Pilott, hearing he had publickly declared I could not, nor should, not, goe out of Bengall without his assistance.

About 10 o'clock this morning I left my house in Hugly and went in a Budgero a-board y^e Recovery at Barnagurj^a a Village rented by y^e Dutch, where (I blesse God) I arrived in safety about 5 this Afternoon.

This night I received a letter from my Cousin, Nathaniel Letter³ from Hugly, advising that just as I was out of sight, he received a letter from my Nephew Hedges to lett him know there was a Horseman sent to y^e Factory gate, but could not understand his message. Y^e Agent & Councill met immediately, to consult and give him an answer. They verily believed he was sent by y^e Fousdar about Haggerston's busyness.

December 31.—We weighed anchor, and fell down to Darent Tanna, and lay there this night

[End of 1684, though this date is carried on until *January 1st*
Day of 1685 in the original manuscript.]

Barnagurj^a is immediately to the north of the city of Calcutta on the same bank.—Y^e

³ Apparently not "Lett" as at n. 162. See nn. 177, 178.—Y^e

JOURNEY HOME VIA MUSCAT AND PERSIA.

January 1685.

January 1.—About 7 in y^e morning we weighed anchor, and fell down a little below Jan Pardo, where we arrived noon, and there came to an Anchor.

January 2.—We fell downe below Tumbolse^s River.

January 3.—We anchored at the Channel Tree, and lay here ye 4th and 5th for want of a gale to carry us over to Kedgeria.

January 6.—A gale sprung up, & we gott over to Kedgeria Point, and a little before Sunsett went off in a Budgero, with designe to row round the two Islands of Kedgeria and Ingellee, and meet y^e Shipp at y^e entrance of Ingellee River.

A little before it was darke we came to a great Godowne where Busrock Omied Chan (the Nabob of Pattana), this nabob's Son, has laid in a vast quantity of Salt. Here we found divers great Patellos taking in their lading for Pattana, this being one of the most convenient places in all these parts for that purpose. Our Dandees (or boatmen) boiled their rice, and we supped here. About 8 o'clock we rowed on, and by one or two in y^e morning (January 7) gott out to Ingellee Towne, where we stayed some hours; and having supplied ourselves with fresh provisions, mett our Shipp about 12 o'clock, newly come to an Anchor over against Ingellee River.

January 8.—This morning by break of day we weighed anchor, and by 12 at noon came to an anchor upon y^e edge, or Entrance, on y^e Westwardmost Brace, having brought the Salt River tree to bear North of us; when at low water the

Tumbolse^s river is the River.

had no more than 16 Foot, and our Ship drew 15 Foot. At slack water we weighed, and stood downe between the two Braces, steering South and S. by E. about 2 Leagues.

Here we mett with George Herron, y^e Company's Chief Pilott, returning to Hugly, who came on board and carried us over y^e Brace, for which I presented him with R. 50. Att first he seemed unwilling to undertake y^e business, or so much as afford us y^e least advice or assistance, fearing Agent Beard and Councill at Hugly might be soe displeased with him for shewing any kindness to me, as to turne him out of y^e Service; but considering, on y^e other side, y^e promise of soe great a reward, adventured on it.

It hath thus pleased God to deliver me from y^e implacable malice of all my Enemies, who have taken greater paines to prejudice me by endeavoring to frustrate my Voyage to Persia, than ever they did to hinder y^e Interlopers, whom they have dayly caressed and favored (contrary to the Company's expresse orders) upon all occasions.

This night about 12 a Clock we anchored on y^e Westward edge of y^e Outward Brace.

January 9.—This Morning early we weighed anchor, and stood into Ballasore Road, steering W. b. N. and W.N.W.; but y^e Wind taking us short, we were forced to anchor before we gott to y^e Ships.

January 10.—About 8 in y^e Morning we gott into Ballasore Roal, passing the *Bengall Merchant*, Capt. Goldsborough (who was at Hugly). His Chief Mate, M^r. Hall, sent off his boat to know our Shipp's name, and who was in her (but had not y^e manners to give us a Gun by way of Salute). Our Shippe wanting a Pinnace, I desired y^e Coxon to tell y^e mate Hall I entreated him to lend me his boat to goe on board y^e *Defence*, which he very courteously sent me; but Capt Heath's Chief Mate, M^r. Henry Sharpe, coming aboard, assured me his Captain would send me his Pinnace immediately.

1685.] HEDGES THANKS GOD FOR GETTING CLEAR.

which he performing, I returned Capt. Goldsborough's ~~boat~~^{boat}, with many thanks, and gratifying the Crew.

The next Shippe we passed by was the *Ann*, Capt. Browne, who was not so courteous as to give us a Salute; but coming near Captain Heath in y^e *Defence*, he gave us 9 Guns. I answered with as many more; he returned thankes with 7, & soe answered each other with 2 lesse, till we came to One Gun.

Capt. Heath sending his boat to me, I went on board his Shippe to give him thanks for his Civility. After halfe an hour's stay on board, as I was going ashore in y^e Pinnace, I mett Mr. Fitz Hugh coming off to me in one of y^e Company's new Sloopes, with my bales of Goods. I brought Mr. Fitz Hugh aboard with me without going ashore, and having taken my goods aboard, lay for y^e Ebb and a Breeze off y^e Shore, which springing up about 12 o'clock at night, we weighed anchor, and stood out of y^e Road, where I first arrived on y^e 17th July 1682, being 2 yeares and a halfe, wanting 7 dayes.

✓ I blesse my God, y^e Creator of Heaven and Earth, who has been graciously pleased to carry me through so many troubles and afflictions of divers kinds, to see this joyfull day; maugre all y^e Plots and contrivances of my implacable enemies, President Gyfford, Agent Beard,¹ Mr. Charnock, and y^e rest of that wicked confederacy, out of whose hands He hath been pleased to give me Deliverance.

About 8 o'clock this night Mr. Archibald, Chirurgeon of y^e *Ann*, brought letters aboard to Mr. Fitz Hugh from y^e Agent and Councill of Hugly, with a Protest from them against me, Mr. Dowglasses, my cousin Letter, and Mr. Hanpton (y^e Master of our Shippe), for carrying Mr. Gough & my Nephew Hedges, for all damages to y^e East India Company, being a

¹ President Beard, the "Agent" Beard of this Diary, survived to witness the "interlopers" become the "English Company", and the two companies to coalesce, under the style and title of the "United" Company. Mr. Beard died at Madras, July 7, 1706. — Bruce, *Annals*, vol. iii, 602.

Paper stuffed up with most impudent and notorious untruths, for which, if they had the least graine of that Religion or goodness in them which they professe, they would have blushed to subscribe it.

The Copy of y^e Protest follows, Verbatim:

"Whereas William Hedges, Esq^{re}, late Agent in Bengall for Affaires of y^e Hon^{ble}. y^e Gov^r. & Company of Merch^{nt}. of London, trading to y^e East Indies; M^r. Nathanael Letter, Merch^{nt}, and M^r. Robert Dowglasses, Chirurgeon, late Servants to y^e Hon^{ble}. Company in Hugly, being all Three owners of y^e Shippe *Recovery*, and all embarked on her for a Voyage to Persia or Bussora; which Shipp is commanded by John Hampton as Master under them, and is manned with severall English Officers and Seamen, besides the Natives of this country; and Whereas R^d. Gough, who came lately out of England as one of y^e Agent's Councill for y^e said Hon^{ble}. Company's affaires in this place, & Robert Hedges, late Factor for said Hon^{ble}. Company's affaires at Rajamaul, both Servants to ye said Hon^{ble}. Comp^y, the latter not having cleared or given any account of his Trust, but is indebted to the said Hon^{ble}. Comp^y in a very great sum of Money,— both of them, contrary to y^e trust reposed in them, and without cause given by Us, have been deluded by the said W^m. Hedges, Esq^{re}, Nathanael Letter, Merch^{nt}, & Robert Dowglasses, Chirurgeon, and others, to run away from the said Hon^{ble}. Company's Service, and they are now, both of them, run away from y^e said Service, and are entertained aboard the said Shippe *Recovery*, by y^e said W^m. Hedges, Nath. Letter, Robert Dowglasses, & John Hampton, & Officers and Seamen, to y^e great damage of the Gov^r. & Company aforesaid, & of our selves and others:

"Wee, therefore, the Agent and councill for Affaires of y^e Hon^{ble}. Gov^r. and Company aforesaid in Bengall, doe, in behalfe of y^e said Gov^r. and Company, and their Successors, and in behalfe of our selves, and of all and every person or

persons herein concerned, make this our lawfull declaration and protest against you, the aforesaid W^m. Hedges, Esq^r, Nathanael Letter, Merch^t, Robert Dowglasse, Chirurgeon, John Hampton, Master, and all the officers and Seaman now serving under them in y^e said Shippe, and against y^e said Shippe *Recovery*, and her owlers & Cargo, and also against the Persons of y^e said Richard Gough & Robert Hedges, and against all other persons aiding, abetting, and assisting y^e said Richard Gough & Robert Hedges in their soe running away; and Declare all and every one of you, joynly and severally, liable to make full satisfaction unto y^e said Hon^{ble}. Gov^r & Company & their Successors, and to us, and to every other person for said Gov^r & Company concerneil, for all such losses and damages as now are, or hereafter shall be, suffered any ways by y^e said Governor & Company, or their Successors, or by ourselves, or by any other person what ever, by reason of y^e flight of Richard Gough and Robert Hedges aforesaid, or by any other wayes or means whatsoever thereunto belonging.

" Dated in Hugly, this 5th day of January 1684-85.

" JOHN BEARD.

" FRANCIS ELLIS.

" RICH^b. FRENCHFIELD.

" EDW^b. OXBOROUGH.

" Signed and published in Hugly Factory, this 5th day of January 1684-85, in presence of

" JOHN GOLDBOROUGH.

" JOSEPH TAFFORD.

" SAM^l. PINE.

" JOHN BEARD, JUN^r.

" Signed and delivered in presence of us, at Ballasore Road, 10th January 1684-85,

" WILLIAM FITZ HUGH. " EDW. TENCH.

" CHARLES ARCHIBALD. " EDW^b. HULLEY.

" HENRY STANLY."

To which Protest I returned for Answer, that it was a paper stuffed up with notorious untruths, and when it pleased God to bring me into England, I would give an answer to it, and so would the rest of the persons concerned in it.

This night we weighed anchor, and sailed out of Ballasore Road, which (as I am informed) lies in the Latitude of $21^{\circ} 35' N.$ ¹

January 11, 12, 13.—These 3 days we had little wind, and that Variable, which caused us to steer divers Courses from y° S.S.E. to y° S.W. Latitude, by Observation, $20^{\circ} 35' N.$

January 14, 15, 16, 17.—These 4 dayes continued little Wind, and that Contrary, forcing us much to y° Eastward. Lat^{de}. by Observation, $19^{\circ} 26' N.$

January 18.—The Wind came up fair at North-East, our course South and South by East. Lat., $18^{\circ} 32' N.$

January 19.—The Wind continued Fair. Latitude by Obsⁿ, $17^{\circ} 38' N.$

January 20.—Fair Wind. Course, South. Lat. by Obs., $17^{\circ} 20' N.$

January 21.—Fair Wind and weather. Course, South. Lat. by Obs., $16^{\circ} 57' N.$

January 22.—Fair Wind and weather. Course, S. b. W. & S.S.W. Lat., $16^{\circ} 50' N.$

January 23.—Fair Wind. Course, S. b. W., S.S.W., & S.W. Distance run, 92 miles. Lat^{de} by Obsⁿ, $16^{\circ} 7' N.$

¹ The Ballasore Buoy, which is as close to the coast as ships can approach, is now in about $21^{\circ} 25' 10''$, and the Flagstaff is in $21^{\circ} 28' N.$ The "Road" must be considered between these two positions; and the error is probably due to the defective instruments and tables of Mr. Hedges' period—though it is possible his informant spoke of the *town* itself, which is in $21^{\circ} 27' 32'' N.$, a considerable distance up a very winding river.

January 24.—Fair Wind. Course, S.W. b. W. Distance run, 97 miles. Lat. by Obs., 15° 5' N.

January 25.—Fair Wind. Course, S.W. b. W. Dist. run, 73 miles. Lat. by Oba., 14° 18' N.

January 26.—Little Wind. Course, W. b. S. Distance run, 35 miles. Lat. by judge^{mt}, 13° 50' N.; horizon hazy; a bad observation.

January 27.—Little Wind. Course, W. by S. Distance run, 36 miles. Lat. by Oba., 13° 40' N.

January 28. Little Wind. Course, W. b. S. Lat. by Obs., 13° 23' N.

January 29.—Little Wind. Course, W. b. S. Lat. by Oba., 13° 6' N.

January 30.—Fair Wind. Course, W. b. N. & W.N.W., having found the Current setting us strongly to y^e Southward. Lat. by Obs., 12° 30' N.

January 31.—Fair Wind. Course, W. b. N. and N.N.W. Distance Run, 99 miles. Lat. by Oba., 13° 40' N.

February 1685.

February 1.—Fair Wind. Course, W. b. N. Distance Run, 87 Miles. Lat. b. Ob., 13° 27'.

The former part of this night shortened Sail, for fear of falling in too close upon y^e Land. About Midnight we sounded, and had 20 Fathoms Water; then mad^e sail, and came to an anchor in 11 fathoms.

February 2.—This Morning early we saw Fort St. George, about 3 or 4 Leagues to the Northward of us, and S^t. Thome, bearing N. $\frac{1}{4}$ W. Our Commander was much troubled to find the violence of the Current (which usually setteth to the Northward at this time of the Year) had sett him so far to leeward of his P^tort.

About 10 o'clock this morning 2 Black Fellows on a Zetter-maran came off to us with a Note from M^r. John Stabla,

Secretary of y^e Fort, desiring to know y^e Shipp and Commander's Name; from whence they came, and for what place they are bound.¹

By y^e return of this Cattamaran I wrott to Preident Gifford, desiring his Honor to permitt a boat & a Cattamaran to be sent off to me, that I might wait on him ashore.

February 3.—This morning two Musoclas & two Cattamarans came off to y^e Shippe, one of each sort for me, and y^e other for M^r. Robert Dowglasse and his Lady. About 2 o'clock in y^e Afternoon, Mr. Dowglasse & y^e Lady and I got into y^e Mussoola, when a most unfortunate accident befell us. The Seamen, handing a small Scritoire into y^e boat, in which were Gold Mohurs and Rupees to y^e value of R. 2036 : 11 for account of M^r. Charles Chamberlan, and R. 3307 : 9 more for account of M^r. Alford of Madras, the said Scritoire dropt into the Sea, striking on y^e Shipp's Side, broke y^e Scritoire, and the money dropt out into y^e Sea.

This unhappy accident, together with y^e greatness of y^e Sea and Surf ashore, caused us to come aboard again, and defer going ashore till y^e next morning.

Being gott on board again, I advised President Gifford of this mischance, desiring him to send Divers aboard, to search and (it possible) to recover the money—the value of 2036 : 11 for account of, M^r. Chamberlan being consigned to his Honor.

We tooke care to sinke downe a parcell of great shott made up in a strong bag, with a rope and a Buoy to it; but notwithstanding all our endeavors whilst I was at y^e Fort, no Divers could be found to undertake y^e business; so left y^e care of y^e affaire to Capt. Francis Willshaw, so soone as

¹ This Mr. Stables, when Chief of Vizagapatam in 1689, was killed with four others, and the Company's effects plundered, when Aurangzebe ordered the expulsion of the English from India.—Bruce, *Annals*, ii, 600.

Divers could be procured, & y^e Sea growne calme for them to search for the money.

February 4.—This morning by 8 o'clock I went ashore. Soone as we came near y^e Surfe, two men leaped into the Sea, and hung at two ropes fastened to the boat's Stern to keep her right before the Sea, and managed their business with so great skill and dexterity, that we came through all the Surfe without any one Sea breaking in upon us. In my Boat were likewise Mr Dowglasses & his Lady & his Son.

On y^e shore we found 3 Palankeens and 3 horses—one Palankeen with 12 Peons, sent by President Gifford to waite upon me; a second for Mr Dowglasses; and a 3rd for his Lady and child, sent by Dr Heathfield, Chirurgeon of y^e Fort. The 3 horses were mounted by my cousin Letter, Mr John Whitmore, & Mr John Innes, & sent by y^e President.

We landed about 8 miles to the Southward of St. Thome, and 10 miles from y^e Fort. On our way we mett with Mr Jersey, Mr Alford, and another Gentleman, who came to meet us. The day before there had been divers more of y^e English, who came to Welcōme ashore and accompany us to the Fort.

Being gott near y^e Fort Gate, I was mett by Mr Gray, the youngest of Councill, sent to conduct me to y^e President, who mett me at his Chamber door, and bade me Wellcome, & drinking to me, fired 15 Guns. His Honor invited me to dinner, and made me promise to sup with him.

After dinner I went to Mr W^m. Jearsey's, and tooke up my quarters at his house, where I was entertained with so much respect and kindness as could possibly be showne to me.

This Afternoon I received divers visits from Mr Elihu Yale, Mr Lucas, Mr Nicks, & Mr Gray, all of Councill, as also from Mr Bridgier, Mr Field, Mr Griffith, Mr James Wheeler, Mr Ramaden, Mr Fleetwood, and divers others.

Towards evening Capt. Willshaw accompanied me to the Company's Garden-house, and showed me great part of y^e towne. Afterwards he went with me to visit Mr. Littleton & y^e rest of y^e family.

February 6.—This afternoon I went to see St. Thomas his Mount (about 10 miles from y^e Fort), accompanied with Mr. Jearsey, M^r Dowglaſſe and his Lady, and my cousin Letter. At y^e Mount we mett a Portuguese Fryer, educated at Rome; and speaking Italian, entertained me with great civillity and respect. We returned againe this Evening, having been just 6 hours absent from the Fort.

February 7.—About 5 this Afternoon I took leave of President Gyfford, Mr. Jearsey, and y^e rest of my Friends at Madras,—where I was entertained with greater demonstrations of respect and kindness than could be expected, from all persons except y^e President, whose commands from Sir Josia Child to be rude and disrespeſtfull to me (as I am credibly informed), more than his own naturall inclination, caused him to carry himselfe with so clownish and ungentele a behavior towards me,—and gott aboard y^e *Recovery* (who was come nearer the Road) before it was darke, Capt. Willshaw doing me y^e kindness to lend me his pinnace, and send his son Jonah with me to see me well aboard.

At my coming off the Shore y^e Fort fired 15 Guns, & Capt. Willshaw's Shippe, the *Resolution*, fired 9, which were all anſwrded when we came aboard the *Recovery*.

This night we sett sail for Muscatt and Gombroon. God send us a prosperous Voyage.

I have hitherto forgot to note, in its due time and place, that about y^e middle of September last, soon after President Gyfford's coming to Hugly, he and his Councill gave orders to Mr. Pownſett to demand of Mr. Charles Crosse of Decca (and in case of refusall to seize and secure by force) all the Letters he had ever received from me, of Publick or

Private concerne; which order being produced and shown to Mr. Crosse (who was well assured violence would have been used in case of refusal), he readily submitted, and delivered up all my letters (in number 52) to Mr. Pownsett, to be conveyed to y^e said President & Councill for their perusal, who were possessed with an opinion there lay a greater Joggle (as they were pleased to terme it), or mystery designed, in our correspondence than they were able to apprehend.

Upon perusal of all my letters, nothing was found in them on which their malice could cast the least reflection, save only an expression to this purpose: "That Mr. Crosse should tell James Price (my Vekeel), If y^e Nabob should ask him any questions concerning the differences between Mr. Charnock and his Picars and Merchants, he should say, 'he knew nothing of it'. 'That James Price would write to me, and acquaint y^e Nabob with my answer.'" Which being condemned for a crime, I shall make this reply:

First. No such question was ever asked by the Nabob, and so no prejudice could arise to y^e Company by it.

Secondly. I had no reason to appear in y^e business till notice given me of y^e Grievance. The fault (if any) was therefore wholly in Mr. Charnock, who, contrary to his duty in all such cases, gave me not the least advice of any difference depending betwixt him and his Merchants—I had it only from general report; nor was it any wise proper for Mr. Charnock (being subordinate to y^e Agent and Councill of Hugly) to contemne and despise my authority and character given me by y^e Company in so high a degree as not to judge me worthy of being made acquainted with all y^e Company's concernes, especially of such vast importance; whereas it is well known (by the Merchants' and said Picars' frequent addresses to me) I could have composed and accommodated y^e differences betwixt them for a small expence,

now so heightened by Charnock's indiscreet & imprudent management, that it is very improbable it should ever be adjusted with lesse expence than two Lacks of Rupees, together with Mr. Charnock's being dismist y^e Company's Service, without which latter the Merchants will never be satisfied.

And as for y^e Joggle pretended to be discovered by my letters to Mr. Crosse, I wish those now in power prove no worse Jugglers for y^e Company than they have found me during my two years' management in Bengall.

What I principally reflect on is the injustice of Mr. Beard, who thought it an unpardonable fault in me to be privy to the opening of his Letter, but esteemed it no offence in himselfe to seize & peruse 52 of mine.

I cannot apprehend for what reason it comes to be more lawful in him to seize upon and read so many of my letters, than it was in Mr. William Johnson to open one of his, and me to read it, when showne to me, and found my selfe reproached and abused in it: which I humbly submit to y^e opinions of better judgements to determine.

February 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13.-- We continued with little wind; what we had was fair; our course S.S.E. and S.E., sometimes S.E. b. E., the current setting us strong to the Northward, so that in these Sixe dayes past we gott no farther to y^e Southward than to y^e Lat^{do}. of 12° 20' N.

February 14, 15, & 16.--These 3 days very little wind, but that fair; our course S.E., and Latitude by Observation, 13° 17' N., so that in these last 3 dayes we have been driven 57 miles to the Northward.

February 17.--These 24 hours a fine fresh gale, and at E. Course, S. b. E. and S.S.E. Latitude by Observation, 12° 45' N.

February 18.--These 24 hours y^e gale continued fresh at E. b. S. Course, S. b. E. Latitude by Obs., 12° 3' N.

February 19.—These 24 hours fresh favourable gale at E. and E. b. S. Course, S. b. E. and S.S.E. Lat, $11^{\circ} 16' N.$ by Observation.

February 20.—These 24 hours a fine gale. Course, S. b. E. Lat^{de} by Obsⁿ, $10^{\circ} 28' N.$

February 21.—These 24 hours a gentle gale. Course, S. Lat. by Obⁿ, $9^{\circ} 30' N.$

February 22.—These 24 hours a fine fresh gale at N.E. Course, S. and S.S.W. Distance run, 81 miles. Lat. by Observation, $8^{\circ} 23' N.$

February 23.—This morning we caught a Dolphin more than 4 foot long: a soft Roe. We have caught divers others with hard roes. The difference of Male and female is plainly distinguished by the make of their heads, the Male's being much more upright and high than that of the Females, by which it is very apparent y^e Dolphin is oviparous, and not viviparous, as some Authors have reported.

These 24 hours a fine fresh gale. Wind at N.E. Course, S.W. Distance, 80 miles. Lat. by Obsⁿ, $7^{\circ} 13' N.$ This afternoon saw y^e Island of Zeilon.

February 24.—These 24 hours a fresh gale of Wind at N.E. Course from 4 in y^e Afternoon till 5 in y^e Morning, South; afterwards, till 12 at noon, W.S.W.; then we saw Land againe. Dist. run, 102 miles. Lat. Obs^d, $6^{\circ} 18' N.$

February 25.—These 24 hours a gentle gale of wind at E. and E.N.E. Course, y^e former part of y^e night, S. W.; from midnight till morning, W. b. S. and W.S.W.; from day light till noon, N.W. Distance run in y^e whole, 93 miles. Lat^{de} by Obsⁿ, $5^{\circ} 54' N.$ No sight of land, by which we judge y^e Current has set us farther to y^e Westward than we expected.

February 26.—These 24 hours very little wind, and that contrary, at North West; by that we advanced little or nothing more than what y^e Current drove us to y^e Westward.

About 8 o'clock we saw a Sail standing towards us from Zeilon; by 11 we spoke with her. She proved to be the *Syam Merchant*, from Metchlapatam, whence she departed y^e 3rd Instant, freighted by Moors, to Gomhroon and Cong.¹ She has on her 106 passengers, men and women, and makes about Rup. 40,000 freight. Her Commander, Capt. Wooldham, dyed the day before she sailed from Metchlapatam. Her Chief Mate, Mr. Clerke, was now her Commander. We promised each other to keepe company, being both bound to y^e same Port. Her Commander, Mr. Brough, her supra cargo; Chirurgeon, and Purser came aboard and dyned with us. Latitude by Observation, 5° 40' N.

February 28.—These 24 hours for ye most part quite calmie. Lat. by Obsⁿ, 5° 40' N.

March 1685.

March 1.—About 10 o'clock last night there arose a sud-daine Storme, accompanied with much lightning and Thunder, and violent showeis of rain, which made us hand all Sailes except y^e Foresail. The violence of this Storme was not of one hour's continuance, and y^e wind so large as helped us on our way. All the night after little wind. Course, W.N.W. and N.W. Latitude by Obsⁿ, 6° N.

March 2.—These 24 hours a fresh gale. In y^e night it Lightened, and Thundered and rained so hard that we handed most of our sailes. Course, W. b. N. and N.W. Distance run, 72 miles. Lat. by Obs., 6° 40' N.

March 3.—From 12 at Noon till 8 at night the gale continued fresh, all the night after little wind, and so this morning. Course, from y^e N.W. to y^e S.S.W. Latitude by Judge-
ment, 7° 16' N.

March 4.—These 24 hours little wind and much rain, with great Thunder and lightning. Course, N.W. The

¹ *Bandar Kongta, Cong, or Congo.* See note at pp. 97, 205.—Y.

Sun not shining forth, had no Observation. Lat. by Stars, 7° 30' N.

March 5.—These 24 hours the wind has been variable and gusty. Lat. by Observ., 6° 25' N., by which we find ourselves much driven to the S^d.

The *Syam Merchant* came this day under our Stern to speak with us.

March 6.—This morning, by break of day, we found ourselves driven within 4 leagues of y^e Maldivia Islands, which bore W. b. S., W. b. N., and West of us, so forcibly has y^e Current carryed us upon these Islands, contrary to our expectation. The weather has been exceedingly variable and gusty. Upon discovery of these dangerous Islands, we tacked, and stood to y^e N.E. Lat^{de}. 6° 2' N.

March 7.—Last night we stood again to y^e N.W. This morning, by peepe of day, we were driven within a mile of y^e Maldivia Islands; the *Syam Merchant* was much nearer; so that in lesse than an hour more we must of necessity have been cast away upon one or forced to goo through them, as God in his Providence should have directed and disposed of us.

So soone as we espyed them (being all very low land, full of Trees) we tacked, and stood to ye Eastward, when the weather grew so dirty, with violent gusts of rain and Wind, that we could have no observation. We observed by y^e stars in y^e Night, Lat. 6° 37' N.

March 8.—Last night it blew hard at N.E., with violent gusts of Wind and raine. We stood off to E. and S.E. till 3 in y^e morning, when seeing ourselves again driven near y^e Islands with y^e force of y^e Current, we tacked, and stood N. b. E. and N.N.E., the wind at that very instant favouring of us. We fired 2 Guns and showed two lights (as by agreement) to give our Consort notice of our Tacking: it seems he did not thinke convenient to follow our example, being 4 or 5 leagues astern of us in y^e morning by daylight. We stood on, and

made what saille we could, steering North. About 10 in the morning we lost sight of the *Siam Merchant*. The Wind was very fresh at East; and seeing divers Islands ahead of us, which we could not weather, and those to y^e Westward standing very open and stragling, not much nearer (in my opinion) than those in y^e Archipelago in the Mediterranean Sea, our Captain asked my Councill what course he were best to steer. I advised him (in the name of God) to venture through, and so bore up, steering due West, when we saw the openest passage, having a Man always standing at y^e Main Top mast head to direct and con us y^e broadest way. By Noon we judged ourselves at least 12 miles within y^e Islands. The Latitude by Observation, 6° 40' North.

March 9.—Yesterday, in y^e Afternoon, we sailed neer divers fine, green, pleasant Islands, full of Coco-nutt and other trees; and finding fine, white, gravelly, clean ground between them at 16, 18, and 20 fathoms, thought good (to prevent greater danger in passing in y^e night) to drop Anchor, which we did neer one of them, where we saw two boats going into harbour.

We putt out a peece of a Red Ancient, to appear like a Moor's Vessell, not judging it safe to be known to be English, our Nation having lately gott an ill name by abusing y^e Inhabitants of these Islands; but no boat would come neer us, though divers rowed and sailed by at a distance to view and make what discovery they could of us.

At the West end of this Island was a Point of Sand and Rocks, which ran out neer halfe a mile, with y^e Sea breaking upon it, & so had most of y^e other Islands to y^e Westward. About 4 or 5 miles to N. Westward of this Island I saw with my Telescop a Parcell of 15 or 16 houses upon a Sand, which seemed 5 or 6 miles long. The sea broke very high upon it.

This Morning early (no best coming off to us) we weighed anchor, and perceiving y^e fairest Channel lay N.E. steered

the North East for some time, and afterwards North. Having got y^e Island under which we anchored before 5 boats putt off from y^e North End; 3 of them ran ahead of us, sailing very swiftly; [from] the other two, after great ceremony and caution (all our Europeans hiding themselves except y^e Captain, [and] the Mogulls, who were passengers, and Blackmen, only appearing in sight), divers of them came aboard, one of which (having a finer Clout than ordinary about him, and a pretty, neat knife at his Girdle) was a Governor's Son of one of these Islands.

Our Captain telling him there was a person aboard who could speak Arabick, he desired to see him. Notice being given me, I came out of y^e Round house, and saluted him in Arabick; to which, not returning a ready and proper Answer, I found he spoke so little of y^e Language that no Discourse was to be held with him, so applyed myself to a Portuguese mariner who spoke Indostan (y^e current language of all those Islands), to which he returned me evasive and unsatisfactory answers, bending his whole discourse to advise our anchoring near his Island this night, & then he would bring us off Wood, Water, and Hens, as much and as many as we should desire. All that I could get of information from him (shewing him y^e Compasse) was that, after we had passed those sands and rocks now in sight of us, there was a fair Channel before us to y^e North West; and that if we would stay this night, to-morrow morning he would send a Pilot and Boats to sail before us out of the Islands. But the Wind coming up a fine fresh Gale at S.E., I presented the young Governor's Son with a fine Amber handled knife and a bag of Rice, and told him I was resolved to make no further delay but to make y^e best of our way and detayne him no longer, upon which they all got overboard immediately into their boat, seeming to be afraide we should detayne them by force.

Amongst other Questions, I asked them whether they

remembered in what part of these Islands a great English Shippe was cast away about 15 or 16 yeares since. He told me it was upon y^e great Sand where I saw the Houses, which were Magazines for y^e Cowries that were taken for y^e King. These Islands are so full of Inhabitants and boats, that we thought this the chief place from whence the King gets all (or greatest part) of his Cowrees. This Sand is in 6° 40' Latitude. At Noon we were in Latitude 7° 0' N. by Observation, and saw no land to y^e N.W. of us.

March 10.—These 24 hours a fine, constant, gentle gale at S.E. Course, yesterday in y^e Afternoon, N.W. till 4, then steered N.N.W. We saw divers small Islands about 20 miles to y^e Northward, but no further; so conclude ourselves in y^e 8 degree Channel, whose last Islands are in 7° 10' N.

Distance run by Log, 56 miles. Lat. by Obs., 7° 40' N.; and saw no more sight of Land. The most Northerly of these Islands are exceeding full of Coco-Nutt and other sorts of Trees, so very pleasant and delightfull to y^e Eyes, that we could not imagine them so unhealthy as those are knowne to be to the S^d, especially that on which the King resides; it is said he does it on purpose that none might be in love with his habitation, and dispossesse him of his kingdom. 'Tis believed, with great probability, that those larger Islands (about 17 in number), being between 9 and 12 degrees Lat., are a healthy and fertile lands as most in the World and would make a most advantageous seat for trade to any part of India.

March 11.—These 24 hours little wind; what we had was at S.E. till 8 o'clock this morning, then it came at y^e W.S.W. Our Course, N.N.W., without sight of Land. Latitude by Observation, 8° 7' N.

March 12.—These 24 hours very little wind. Course, N.N.W. No sight of Land. Lat^{de}. by Obs., 8° 36' N.

March 13.—These 24 hours y^e winds were very variable, accompanied with smart gusts of Wind and rain. Distance,

run, 37 miles. Course from y^e W. to y^e N.N.W. Latitude by Obs., 9° 2' N.

March 14.—These 24 hours fine fresh gale. Course from N.N.E. to N. b. W. Distance run, 60 miles. Lat. by Obs., 9° 46' N.

March 15.—These 24 hours little wind. Course, N. and N. b. E. Lat. by Obsⁿ, 9° 55' N.

March 16.—These 24 hours little wind. Course, N. and N. b. E. Lat. by Obs., 10° 8' N. The winds being small and faint, we tacked, and stood W. and W. b. S., sometimes W.S.W., in hopes of meeting stronger winds to y^e Westward.

March 17.—These 24 hours a fine fresh gale. Course, West and W. b. S. and W.S.W. Distance run, 48 miles. Lat. by Obsⁿ, 9° 28' N.

March 18.—These 24 hours little wind. Course, till towards morning, W. b. S. and W.S.W.; afterwards, N. b. W. till 10 this morning, then W.S.W. again. Lat. by Obs., 9°.

March 19.—These 24 hours little wind. Course, divers, from y^e North to W.S.W., as we could make y^e Ship lye. We judge a great current sets us to y^e Soathward. Latitude by Obs., 8° 38' N.

March 20.—These 24 hours little or no wind. Course from N. to N.W. We hoisted out our boat, and found y^e Current setting more than one mile an hour to y^e Southward. Lat. by Obsⁿ, 8° 6' N.

March 21.—These 24 hours no more wind than to keep the Shipp's head to y^e N.W. and N.W. b. W., y^e Current driving us to y^e South^d. Lat. by Obs., 7° 48' N.

March 22.—These 24 hours we have had a fine gentle breeze at N. and N. b. E. Course, W.N.W. and N.W. b. W. Distance run by y^e log, 40 miles. Lat. by Obs. (which was imperfect, y^e Sun being within 2½ degrees of y^e Zenith), 7° 53' N. In y^e night we observed divers Stars, and found our Latitude upwards of 8° 0' N.

March 23.—These 24 hours a fine fresh gale at North and

N. b. W. Course, W.S.W. and W.N.W. Distance run, 60 miles. Latitude (taken with an Astrolabe), the Sun being within 2 degrees of our Zenith, $8^{\circ} 16'$; y^o Variation, 12 degrees [W. ?].¹

March 24.—These 24 hours the Wind somewhat abated at N.E. and N.E. b. N. Course, N.W. b. N. and N.W. Distance run by y^o Log, 64 miles. Lat. by judgement and observation of y^o Stars, $8^{\circ} 20'$ N.

March 25.—These 24 hours a fine fresh gale at N. b. E. and N.N.E. Course, N.W. and N.W. b. N. Variation, $12^{\circ} 18'$ [W. ?]. Lat. by Obs., $8^{\circ} 41'$ N. Dist., 55.

March 26.—These 24 hours little Wind. Course, N.N.W. Distance run, 41 m. Variation, $13^{\circ} 20'$ [probably West]. Lat. by Obs^u of Stars at 2 o'clock this morn^g, $9^{\circ} 19'$ N.

March 27.—These 24 hours little wind. Course, N.W. and N.W. b. W. Distance run, 54 miles. Lat. by Obs., $10^{\circ} 0'$ N.

March 28.—These 24 hours little wind. Course, N.N.W. and N. b. W. Distance run, 52 miles. Lat. by Obs., $10^{\circ} 19'$ N.

March 29.—These 24 hours little wind. Course, N.N.W. b. W. and N.W. b. N. Distance run, 56 miles. Variation, $14^{\circ} 20'$ [W. ?]. Lat. by Obs., $10^{\circ} 52'$ N.

March 30.—These 24 hours little wind. Course, N.W. b. W. and W.N.W. Distance run, 52 miles. Latitude by Obs^r, $11^{\circ} 12'$ N.

March 31.—These 24 hours little wind. Course, N.W. and

¹ *Variation of the Compass.*—In Sir Thomas Roe's voyage (1615), the magnetic variation is noted at Socotra as $17^{\circ} 50'$ W., and at Damaun as $16^{\circ} 17'$ W. In the year 1817, Yeates' Magnetic Chart gives the variation at Socotra as $6^{\circ} 10'$ W., and at Damaun as $0^{\circ} 30'$ W. In the year 1870, by Admiralty Chart, the variation at Socotra is 2° W., and at Damaun 1° E., and the Maldiv Islands are now (1870) on the "no variation" line. I imagine, therefore, that at the date of this Log (1685), the magnetic variation to the westward of the Maldives, and in latitude 9° N., must have been westerly, as the curves would indicate; but it is curious that an observant man like Mr. Hedges never noted which way it was.—R. F. B.

N.W. b. W. and W.N.W. Distance run, 57 miles. Variation, $15^{\circ} 28'$ [West?]. Lat. $11^{\circ} 40'$ N.

April 1685.

April 1.—These 24 hours little Wind. Course, N.W.—N.W. b. W. and N.N.W. Distance run, 55 miles. Lat. by Obser. of y^e Stars at 2 o'clock this morning, $12^{\circ} 0'$ N.

April 2.—These 24 hours little Wind. Course, N. b. E. and N.N.E. Distance run, 37 miles. Lat. by Obs. of y^e Stars, $12^{\circ} 14'$ N.

April 3.—These 24 hours little Wind. Course, N. b. E. and N.N.E. Distance run, 31 miles. Lat. by Obsⁿ, $12^{\circ} 20'$ N.

April 4.—These 24 hours a meer calm till 4 o'clock this morning; since, little Wind. Course, N.W. b. N. & N.W. Dist. run, 17 m. Lat. by Obs. of y^e Stars, $12^{\circ} 57'$ N.

April 5.—These 24 hours calm. Lat. by Obs., 13° N. This morning we saw a great Shippe standing Westward; by Sunset she was out of sight.

April 6.—These 24 hours calme. Lat^{ds} by Judgement, $13^{\circ} 0'$ N.

The East India Company having ordered me not to give the least countenance to Interlopers, I shall here relate what passed in discourse this day between me and M^r. Dowglaesse, who (in presence of M^r. Gough, M^r. Whitmore, & my Nephew Hedges) told, "That M^r. Beard mett and spoke with Capt. Alley and Capt. Read at his house, and had done the like at M^r. Littleton's; that M^r. Evans, our Minister, did infrequently converse and associate with Capt. Alley, and was so intimate with him, that he carried his Wife to sup at Captain Alley's House; that M^r. Evans took his leave of Capt. Alley when he was going for England, and, to his knowledge, sent a packet of letters by him, and, he believes, Tokens also." M^r. Whitmore says M^r. Beard discoursed very kindly and civilly with M^r. Davies. M^r. Evans kept more

company with Capt. Alley, M^r. Davies, & M^r. Littleton than he did with those in the Factory.

April 7.—These 24 hours calme. Our Head lay W. and W. b. S. The Sun so near our Zenith, could take no Observation.

This morning we went to allowance of 3 Pints of Water for each passenger, and a Quart for the Mariners, both to drinke & boyle their rice.

April 8.—These 24 hours quite calme. Our head lay N.E. b. N. and N.E. Lat. by Obsⁿ of y^e Stars, 12° 30' N.; by which we find ourselves driven $\frac{1}{2}$ a degree to y^e Southward.

April 9.—These 24 hours a small breeze. Course, N.E. b. E. N. and N.N.E. Distance run, 18 miles. Lat. by Obsⁿ of y^e Stars, 12° 53' N.

April 10, 11.—Very little Wind, and that Contrary. Course, W.N.W. and E.N.E. Distance run, 24 miles. Lat. by Obsⁿ of y^e Stars, 12° 48' N. We have driven 8 miles to the Southward.

April 12.—These 24 hours Calme; y^e little wind we had for y^e most part contrary. Course from y^e W. to W. b. S. & to N.E. Distance run, 20 miles. Lat. by Observation of y^e Stars, 12° 51' N.

This day M^r. R^d. Gough told me of an intended Mutiny & Conspiracy of y^e Captain against me, when it shall please God to bring us near unto, or in sight of, Gombroon or Cong, in y^e Gulph of Persia: which conspiracy, the said M^r. Gough told me, was discovered to him by William Godman, our 2nd Mate, in manner following, with the reasons which (they pretend) induced them to it.

The night before we set sail from Ballasore Road, a Protest was delivered to me by M^r. William Fitz Hugh and M^r. Stanley, from Agent Beard and Council of Hugly, for carrying away y^e said M^r. Gough and my Nephew, Robert Hedges, Passengers on this Ship *Recovery*.

M^r. John Hampton, Commander of y^e Shippe, tooke this

opportunity to play y^e Villaine, and behaved himself in a very rude and disrespectful manner towards us in the Voyage, especially since we came from Fort St. George, telling us, "When God sent him to Muscat, he would take no further Charge of the Shippe,"—at which we seemed little concerned; and though M^r Dowglassee was then as much, or rather more, affronted than myself, & made him a sharpe reply, yett it seems all his malice and revenge is bent towards me, & not knowing better how to show it, the Divell has put this evill conspiracy and designe into his head, viz.:

"When it Pleased God to bring us to Muscat, he will not there discover his intentions, because (says he) y^e Agent speaks Arabick (y^e language of y^e Country), and may probably be too hard upon us; but when we come over against Gombroon or Cong, we will stand off with y^e Shippe, and not come into port till we have forced him, the said W^m. Hedges, M^r. Gough, M^r. Letter, & M^r. Robert Hedges, to give us good security, and indemnifie us against any pretence that shall be made against us by y^e said Agent Beard and Councill at our returne to Hugly in Bengall, by reason of y^e said M^r. Gough and M^r. Robert Hedges going passengers on y^e said Shippe." Which evill intention of y^e Captain's, if he should continue to put y^e same in execution, I apprehend it to be that fresspasse which is called a Barratry of y^e Captain and marriners, the said Captain and all his Marriners being hired servants of mine and y^e said M^r. Dowglassee's, during pleasure, and that all such damages as shall be susteyned by me are to be borne (in proportion) by y^e ensurers in England.

April 13.—M^r. Gough informs me farther that W^m. Godman told him likewise, M^r. Hampton designed to stopp our goods, and give us trouble in Persia; and before he entered into Port, resolved to stand out at sea, and force us to his owne terms before he would bring y^e Ship into any Port.

I have now prevailed with M^r. Gough to give me the

words in writing (to y^e best of his remembrance), as they were related to him by W^m. Godman, our 2nd Mate, a Copy whereof I have transcribed verbatim, as followeth.

"On board y^e Shippe *Recovery*, 11th April 1685.

"This day, between 4 and 5 o'clock in y^e Afternoon, discoursing with William Godman, our Second Mate, on the Quarter Deck and in y^e great Cabin (in y^e latter place M^r. Robert Hedges was present), he told me that about 3 weeks p^t he had some discourse with M^r. John Hampton, our Captain, who told him there was a Protest against this Shippe, himselfe, & all y^e officers & Lascars (or Mariners), for carrying away one Richard Gough & M^r. Robert Hedges; and that he, y^e said Captaine, did not designe to do anything at Muscatt, because Agent Hedges understood y^e Arabian Language, and might disappoint him in his designe with y^e Government there: but when he came to Gombroon, he would run off with y^e Shippe, and seize upon y^e Agent's goods, to secure himselfe, &c., for y^e damage they were like to come to at their returne to Bengall; and that he would acquaint y^e Company's Servants in y^e Factory, and the Commanders of y^e Europe Shipp^s, who would assist him in his designe."

Edward Walter (my Servant) declared this morning to M^r. Gough and me that he heard M^r. Hampton say, "He would make y^e Divell to doe amongst us when he came to Muscatt."

These 24 hours calme; not any thing upon y^e Log; the Lat. by Obsⁿ of y^e stars, 12° 40' N.; so we conclude y^e Current sets us to y^e Southward.

M^r. Gough, having further discoursed with W^m. Godman, told me as follows:

"On board Shippe *Recovery*, 13th April 1685.

"This day, between 3 and 4 o'clock in y^e Afternoon, I had this further discourse with William Godman, our Second Mate, on the Quarter Deck, when he tolld me y^e. John Hampton, our Captain, had a designe when he came to Muscatt to take in more White men aboard y^e Shippe; and having 10 White men already aboard, with these, and what more he shold there take in, resolved, when he came to Gombroon Road, to run off with y^e Shippe, and force y^e Agent and all of us to give him and his officers notes under our hands, or obligations, to save him, y^e said Hampton, and officers and Shippe, harmless from any damage they were like to come to for carrying me, Richard Gough, and M^r. Robert Hedges away from Hugly; and if we did not thus comply with him, he was

resolved to carry the said Agent Hedges & his Goods back again to Hugly: and this y^e said W^m Godman is ready to take his oath, when thereunto required."

April 14.—These 24 hours quite calme. The Shipp's head lay N. b. W., N.N.W., and N.W. b. N. Latitude by Observation of y^e Stars, $12^{\circ} 41'$ N.

April 15.—Till nine o'clock last night quite calme; since then a fine small breeze, at S. b. E. and S.S.E. Course, North. Distance run, 21 miles. Latitude by Obs., $12^{\circ} 50'$ N.

April 16.—Till 12 at night quite calme; since that a fine gentle breeze at S. b. E. and S.S.E. Course, N. Distance run, 17 miles. Lat. by Judgement, $13^{\circ} 20'$.

April 17.—From yesterday noon till 9 at night Calme; since that a small breeze. Course, N. Dist. run, 28 miles. Lat^{da} by Judgement, $14^{\circ} 15'$ N.

April 18.—These 24 hours calme, and light winds. Course, N. b. E. Distance run, 18 miles. Lat. by Obs., $14^{\circ} 45'$ N. We find y^e current now in our favour.

April 19.—[No entry.]

April 20.—These 24 hours a fine fresh gale at W. b. N., W.N.W., and N.W. Course, N. b. E. and N.N.E. Distance run, 64 miles. Lat. by Obsⁿ, $16^{\circ} 30'$.

April 21.—These 24 hours the Wind has blowne very fresh at W. and W. b. N. Course, from 8 last night till 4 this morning, N.E. and N.E. b. N., then N. and N. b. W. The Distance run, 76 miles. Latitude by Obs., 18° N..

April 22.—These 24 hours it has blowne as much wind as we could carry; our Topsails a little settled. Wind, W. b. S. Course, N.N.W. From 9 o'clock at night till 5 this morning shortened Sail and went with 2 Courses only, for fear of land. Distance run, 48 miles. Lat. by obs., 19° N.

April 23.—These 24 hours it has blown hard at W.S.W. and S.W. We lay by all night, for fear of land. Between 11 and 12 o'clock this morning we saw Land, which we tooke to be 2 Islands in a Bay to y^e West^d of y^e great Island Misraij.

¹ Massera, off the coast of Oman.—Y.

so stood off E and E.S.E. Lat. by Observation, $19^{\circ} 50' N.$ We saw High Land again, which we took to be Miseric.

April 24.—These 24 hours a very fresh gale. Wind, W.S.W. and S.W. Course various, at E.S.E., E., N.E., and N. b. E. Dist. run, 98 miles. Lat. by obs., $20^{\circ} 30' N.$

April 25.—These 24 hours y^a Wind continued fresh from S.W. to S.W. b. W. We lay by from 8 last night till 5 this morning, then sciled N. b. W. and N. At 9 this morning saw land very plaine on y^a Larboard bow and right ahead. Lat. by Obs., $21^{\circ} 30' N.$

April 26.—These 24 hours a fine gentle gale. From 12 last night till 5 this morning we lay by, then made sail, and by 9 o'clock this morning got within Cape Rasalgat.¹ Lat. by Observation, $22^{\circ} 42' N.$

April 27.—These 24 hours little wind. Course, N. b. W. & N.N.W. Lat. by Obsⁿ, $23^{\circ} 21' N.$

April 28.—These 24 hours very little Wind. Course, W.N.W. Lat. by Obsⁿ, $23^{\circ} 34' N.$

April 29.—About 10 o'clock this morning we arrived at Muscatt,² where we found Capt. Edward Say with his Shippe *Welcome*, Capt. Smith, Commander.

Captain Say came aboard and shewed us great kindness and respect. We went all ashore with him to visit y^a Governor and Hoga Ishmael. The Governor bad us welcome, and assured us the freedom & Liberty of the Port.

Hoga Ismael has formerly been the only powerfull and eminent persop in this place. Lying lately very sick, the King first seized a great part of his Estate, and several of his Factors ran away with the rest; however, he is a person much esteemed and well reputed by y^a Governor.

Captain Say tells us Sir Thomas Grantham passed by this

¹ Or Rosalgat, a corruption of the Arab. *Ras-al-Hadd*, "Cape of the Extremity", or Extremity, being the extreme easterly point of the Arabian coast.—Y.

² Muscat is in lat. $23^{\circ} 36'$, long. $58^{\circ} 40' E.$

way about 3 months since, from Gombroon to Suratt, & that he was very kind and civill to his people here ashore; that y^e said Sir Thomas Grantham sold Capt. Zay's Servants 10 great Guns with their Carriages, and transported 24 horses for [from] that to Suratt, giving them Bills of Lading; that Sir Thomas had taken in divers passengers and great quantity of goods at Gombroon, which he was obliged to carry to Suratt, and would be worth to him a considerable sum of money.

This Sir Thomas Grantham is y^e Person on whom y^e Company chiefly relies for taking and destroying of Interlopers; and he has treated those he has mett of them with greater respect than any other of their Commanders.

Capt. Goldshorough, in y^e *Bengall Merchant*, sailed from this place towards Gombroon on y^e 25th Ult. During his stay here, which was but 4 or 5 days, he proffered to carry any goods for Interlopers to Persia,—a favour Mr. Beard woulde by no means grant to me; though at y^e same time he permitted Mr. Dowglass (a declared Interloper) to lade 6 chests of cloth for his owne account at Hugly.

May 1685.

May 7.—Finding my selfe feverish and indisposed, I left y^e shore and went on board of y^e *Recovery*.

May 9.—I returned againe to Muscatt.

May 14.—This day, about Sunsett I took leave of Muscatt and embarked on y^e *Recovery*, who rode without y^e Castles.

May 15.—We waited y^e coming off of some of our Mariners from y^e shore, and employed ourselves in y^e mean time in setting up our Rigging and putting ourselves in a posture to go to Sea.

This evening we sailed from Muscatt.

May 16.—The *Wellcome* (a Shippe Mr. Dowglass and I hired to carry our goods to Bussora, for fear that we should not meet with a Conveyance at Cong) not appearing in sight, we tacked about and sailed towards Muscatt. About 4

this Afternoon we came up with y^e *Wellcome*, and made y^r best of our way to Cong, having given them order to keep us company.

May 21.—We got sight of Cape Jasques, and passed by it very early this morning at a great distance, keeping much nearer to the Arabian than the Persian shore.

May 22.—We passed by Cape Muscandon.¹

May 23.—We came up with the Islands of Orinus and Arack [Larek of Maps]; but having intelligence that a Squadron of 7 or 8 Dutch Ships lay before Gombroon, we thought good to sail directly for Cong, and sent Mr. Dow-glassee, and Mr. Richard Gough in the *Wellcome's* boat to manage our concernes at Gombroon, and to follow us as soon as they could to Cong.²

May 24.—This morning by 7 o'clock we saw a Shippe coming out from between Lareck and Ormus Islands, but she could not fetch us up; by 10 o'clock we saw 8 or 9 Shippes at anchor close under y^e Island Kishmish [i.e., Kishm], about y^e middle of it, where another little Island makes a good Harbour.

May 27.—This Afternoon it pleased God to bring us in safety to Cong Road. I went ashore immediately to Mr. Brough's house (Supra Cargo of y^e *Siam Merchant*), and lay there all night.

May 28.—I hired a house for myselfe and the rest of our Company for this Monsoon.

May 30.—It pleased God to visit me with so violent a fever that all men despaired of my recovery. Its rage and fury

¹ C. Maseendum, Ar. *Rds Masandum*, the point of Arabia (properly of a small island of the name) marking the entrance to the Persian Gulf.—Y.

² From a statement in Bruce's *Annals of the East India Company*, iii, 393, it would seem that in 1677 the Portuguese still kept up some pretence of rights in the port of Cong. But it is apparent, from circumstances mentioned by Chardin (ed. 1785, i, 348), that all foundation for such pretensions had ceased some years before.—Y.

being past, I was taken with a relapse, which continued upon me full 2 months, and reduced me to a most feeble and weake Condition; during all which time I tooke no other sustenance but a little Rice and Water boyled together, which served me both for meat and drink too.

July 1685.

Towards y^e fine of July, I conceited the great heats of this place caused y^e continuance of my indisposition upon me, and y^e if I could be removed to a cooler Air I should soone recover; in order to which designe I hired 12 stout fellows for Manoodies¹ 200, and 35 Manoodies for their Diett money, to carry me as far as Lar,² in my Cott (Palankeen fashion), which they performed to my satisfaction.

July 29.—This afternoon my Cousin, Nathaniel Letter, and I sett out from Kong towards Spahan, and travelled this night to a miserable poor Village (and a worse Caravan-Sarai) at y^e foot of y^e Hill, called "Champa". The Water here very stinking.

July 30.—We rose from Champa, and after an houre or an houre & halfe riding, we ascended an exceeding steep, scragged hill, which yett was not halfe so troublesome and difficult to us as its descent. I judged it the more difficult by reason of the loose Stones. My 12 Palankeen men at once fled all together, and were like to cast themselves and me downe a great precipice. We were not able to reach Obdeen-deen (y^e usuall Mensill),³ but lay at a sorry Caravan-Sarai between y^e hills, called Dellaver Agaring Caravan-

¹ 100 mahmudis = 1 toman. The *toman* at this time was worth £3 6s. 8d.; hence the mahmudi worth about 8d. (See Fryer's *Travels*, p. 211.)—X.

² Lar, formerly an important city, and the capital of a principality of that name, annexed to Persia by Shah Abbas about 1600. It is about eighty miles from Coog, as the crow flies.—Y.

³ *Manzil* (Pera), stage, or halting-place.

Saraia, some 3 hours short of Obdeen-deen. Water indifferent good.

July 31.—We rose from Dellaver Agaring Caravan-Sarai and lodged at Charber keer—short of Cokeer, y^e usuall Menzill. We got a kid at a neighbouring Village. The Water coolest and best I have yett dranke in Persia.

August 1685.

August 1.—We rose from Charber keer, and passing by Kokeer on y^e right, arrived at Bustag before Sun rising. Here is plenty of Provision, but no good water.

August 2.—We rose from Bustag, and arrived at Sheack-zur 4 hours before day. Here's store of provisions, and indifferent good water.

August 3.—We rose from Sheack-zur and lay at Possa-Chan, where we found divers of our hired Camels (with their luding) going towards Lar. Here is no want of provisions, but y^e Water exceeding bad and Stinking.

August 4.—We rose from Possa-Chan and travelled this night to Nimmā. Store of Provisions, but sorry water. Here I bought 5 live Partridges for 15 Cosbys,¹ which is 4 pence $\frac{1}{2}$ English money.

August 5.—We rose from Nimmā & gott to Lar about 10 or 11 o'clock at night. We were no sooner arrived, but a Person at the Caravan-Sarai giving notice of my being there, the Govr^r sent a Ser^t to direct me to a house he had ordered for my reception.

August 6.—Our Servants informing us it was customary for y^e English to lodge at y^e Dutch house, I removed thither, where the house keeper received me very courteously.

This Afternoon I went to visit y^e Governor, who had ordered us a house for our lodging. I wish we had continued

¹ A small copper coin of obsolete name, called by travellers *Cow*, *Gaz*, *Cosbigne*, *Gosbeck*, *Kel-begi*. The tria form appears to be *Ghaz-begi*.—Y.

in it, being much better than that of the Dutch to which we removed.

August 7.—I went to visit the Shabunder; but he was not ashore¹.

August 8.—The Shabunder came and gave me a visit at my lodging, with expressions of great kindness, and sent me a present of fruit and provisions.

August 9.—I returned y^e Shabunder his Visit; when he was pleased to present me with a stately fine horse, valued at 8 tomans; and presented another of lesse stature (a very pretty nag) to my Cousin Letter. The camells with all our goods being gone towards Spahan, I gave y^e Shabunder a note under my hand, promising to present him 4 Bales of Sugar and some pieces of Cloth at Spahan, in recompence of his horse, with which he was well content. My Cousin Letter gave him the like note for 2 Bales of Sugar and some pieces of Cloth.

August 11.—I went to see y^e famous Castle of Larr. 'Tis a most pitiful, sorry, ruinous building; the Walls (in many places) ready to drop downe. We past not above 5 or 6 Soldiers in all y^e Castle, whose business was chiefly to guard 5 Usbeque (Tartars) prisoners taken in War. They were stout, able-bodied persons, with good countenances; all of them spoke Turkish.

In this Castle of Larr are 5 large brass guns, all taken from y^e Portuguese at Ormus, weighing from 31^c to 44^c. weight a piece; some of them made Anno 1618. in Goa by y^e Vice King, with y^e King of Portugall's armes on them. The bore of one of them was inches 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ Diameter.

August 13.—We sett out from Larr (where we stayed 4 dayes extra for want of maled) and lodged at Kuda-Poi-

¹ Read probably "not at home". Lar is 60 or 70 miles from the sea. A *Shah-bandir* was properly a port-officer; but the term was also applied, at inland marts, such as Lar was, to the officer superintending trade and duties.—V.

cotal, a very large and convenient Caravan-Sarai, well stored with provisions.

August 14.—We dislodged from Kuda-Poicotal and travelled to Beeres, a pretty large Towne, and a spacious Caravan-Sarai, the best I have yet seen on y^e Road, except that at Larr. Very bad Water, but plenty of Provisions.

August 15.—We rose from Beeres, and passing through Benaroo, lay at Bocktearee, a pretty well seated village, where our Chiefl Muleteer lived, who invited and entertained us at his house very courteously. This Place is well watered (a rarity in this Country) with a fine running stream (the first and only one I have yet seen in this barren Country), conveyed to them by an Aqueduct under ground.

August 16.—We lay here (being Sunday) all day, and accepted of our Muleteer's entertainement.

August 17.—We rose from Bocktearee and travelled this night to Mowuescer, an old, ruinous Caravan-Sarai; and sorry Water.

August 18.—We rose from Mowuescer and lodged at Chatalkee, a spacious Caravan-Sarai, with plenty of good fresh water and provisions.

August 19.—We rose from Chatalkee between one and two o'clock in y^e Afternoon, having divers steep scragged Hills, which required five hours' time at least (we made it more than 6) to pass over,—'twas most convenient to be done by day light,—and arrived af Jarroon a little within night. This is a great towne, and affords plenty of all things for y^e use of a traveller in these parts.

August 20.—We rose from Jarroon and lodged at Moocack Sookta, a large, convenient Caravan-Sarai; good water, and no want of provisions. Here we had y^e best musk melons that ever I saw of y^e growth of Cossir.

August 21.—We rose from Moocack Sookta, and went 4 Farsangs or leagues out of our way to see Dottuan, situated

in the most pleasant and fruitful plains (as reported) in all Persia, where we lodged this night in a garden belonging to y^e Douch (the same affording no Caravanserai), near a small rivulet that runs through it. The Gardener gave us store of Figs (y^e least, but as good as I have seen), Grapes, Pomegranates, Peaches, and Wall-nutts, all very good of their kind. The towne is full of Gardens, all plentifully watered with Cutts out of a River running by it, out of which we had brought us two good dishes of Fish, which cost but 1 Mamoodie: 2 of them were 20 inches long apiece. This is the most pleasant, fruitfull place I have yet seen in Persia. We are promised a guide on our way this Afternoon (God willing) to Cossir, who will show us certain great Vaults under y^e Rocks, large enough, some of them, to hold 1000 men.

August 22.—We rose from Dottuan, & passing by Cossir, lodged at Agatakee.

August 23.—We rose from Agatakee and lay at Musaffere, a good Caravan-Sarai. Store of Water in a great plain.

August 24.—We rose from Musaffere and lodged at Bobba Hadgee, in a fine plain, well watered and stored with provisions. This is a long Stage. We satt out early, and travelled hard to be here 3 hours (or more) within night.

August 25.—We satt out by 1 o'clock in y^e afternoon from Bobba Hadgee, and arrived at Shiraz about Sunset, and lodged at the English house.¹

August 26.—I went to see y^e Bazaars and public Buildings of y^e City, which were most of them handsome, rich, and convenient for the heats of this Country.

This Afternoon Padre Agathangelo, a Carmelite Fryer, formerly resident for many years at Bussora, came to give

¹ We have not found an accurate detailed Itinerary of this road from Lar to Shiraz, whereby to identify all the names in Hedges' orthography; but Pa-i-Kotal, Bores, Beart, Jahan, Chah-i-talikh ("Bitter Well"), Maghak Sokhta, Aga Taki, and Baba Haj, are recognisable. Dottuan is the *Dadigan* of Tavernier (Bk. V, ch. xxii), "one of the most delicious situations in all Persia."—Y.

me a visit. I delivered him a letter from Padre Marc Antonio Santucci, chief of y^e Jesuits order in Bengall, and he gave me another from himselfe to y^e Superior of his Order in Spahan.

August 27.—This morning I rode about y^e City of Shirash, to see divers parts that I had not seen yesterday; and returned y^e Padre's Visit at their Convent, where I was most courteously entertained by them.

August 28.—I went to see y^e King's garden, and that of y^e old Khan of Shirash, who tooke y^e Kingdome of Ormus from y^e Portuguese in y^e time of y^e great Shah Abbas.

This evening, at Sunset, we set out from Shirash and ledged at Zurgoon, a large and exceeding pleasant village, situated on the side of a high hill, overlooking a well watered plaine, full of vineyards stored with excellent good grapes, which the villanes carry every night to sell at Shirash.

This Village is in the way to Cheker-Minar (commonly called Chil-minar), the road to Spahan parting from it about 2 leagues distance from y^e Village.

August 29.—We set out from Zurgoon, and passing over a very large plaine with a river running through it, over which we rodd on a Bridge of 4 Arches, we arrived 2 hours within night at Emer-Cascoon (a towne within $\frac{1}{2}$ of a mile of Cheker-minar), and lodged there all night.

August 30.—We rose very early this morning, and went to see y^e Ruins of Cheker-Minar¹ (which signifies 40 Pillars in y^e Persian Language), antiently judged to be y^e Palace of y^e once fatuous Persepolis; and leaving Meer Cascoon, travelled this evening towards Moyeen (in a great plaine), where we arrived about 2 o'clock in the morning. This is a pretty Village, well watered, and stored with provisions.

August 31.—We sett out from Moyeen: an hour within night we passed by Imaum Zade, a pretty Village, and lodged at Woc-John. Between these two townes is a very high hill.

¹ Chihil Minar ("Forty columns") is a well-known name of the ruins of Persepolis.—Y.

September 1685.

September 1.—We set out from Woo John and lodged at Assapos, a place well stored with good water.

September 2.—We set out from Assapos and lodged at Coskezar.¹

September 3.—We set out from Coskezar and lodged at Deregherdoo.

September 4.—We set out from Deregherdoo and lodged at Yes-de-gas, a good Caravan-Serai, built in a vast great ditch, where ('tis credibly reported) formerly ran a river.

September 5.—This morning early a horseman met me with a present of Wine, strong waters of Rushia, Oyle, Achara, Rose Water distilled with muske, sugared Biskett, Caviare, and divers sorts of excellent good fruit, sent from Spahan by Sign^r Zacharia, the Armenian Father.

This Zacharia is a Merchant, who came passenger on y^e Recovery with me from Bengall, and was entertained by me and Mr. Dowglasse to assist us in y^e management of our business & concerns at Cong and Spahan.

We rose this morning from Yesdegas and lodged at Macksood Beigh, a sorry old ruinous Caravan Serai, and bad water. There is a good new Caravan Sarai within halfe a mile of it, but not much frequented, for want of provisions.

September 6.—We rose from Macksood and lodged at Comesha.

September 7.—We rose from Comesha and lodged at Moyar.

September 8.—We rose from Moyar, and about 10 at night got to a Caravan Sarai in y^e Suburbs of Spahan.

September 9.—We entered the City of Spahan and went to y^e English house, where I was kindly entertained (for a few dayes, till I could provide myselfe with a more convenient

¹ For this and preceding names: Zargün, Mir-Khagan, Mayin, Aujan, Aspas, Khushki-sard, Yezd-i-Khest, Mak-ad-Begi, Kam-i-shah, Mayar.—Y.

² A kind of pickle.

Lodging) by my old friend, M^r. Daniel Edwards, at present (by y^e death of M^r. Darnelly) Chief for y^e Hon^{ble}. East India Comp^r. Affaires in Persia.

September 10.—I received visits from the two Orders of the Carmelites & Dominican Fryers, and likewise from divers of y^e French Nation, as Jewellers and Watchmakers (some of them my acquaintance in Constantinople), Servants to the King of Persia.

September 11.—I went to see Julfa, where all Armenians live. In our way we passed over a large handsome Bridge. In this towne (for more conveniency) I tooke a house for 3 months, and Warehouses for my goods, in y^e Queen mother's Caravansarai, called Gidda.

September 12.—I returned a visit to y^e Padri Carmelitani. They have a handsome large Convent, with a pretty Chappell, and Library well stored with books, amongst which were divers in English, with an English Bible.

This Afternoon Sig^r. Fabricius, y^e King of Swedeland's Envoy, gave me a visit. He was born in Holland, and bred a Soldier in Sweden. He is a most courteous, civil, ingenious person, and gave me divers invitations to his quarters.

September 14.—This afternoon Sig^r. Van Havell, y^e Dutch Commissarius, as he is called, gave me a visit, excusing himself, with many compliments, that he had not done it sooner. He was well attended by divers persons well mounted: a Trumpeter riding, and 2 Soldiers in Crimson Velvet coats going before him, with Musketeers. He has lived 15 yeares in Persia.

September 15.—This morning I removed, for better convenience and management of my business, from y^e Company's Factory in Spahan to y^e house I had taken in Julfa, but left my goods at Gidda Caravansarai in Spahan, except 86 Bales of Sugar, which were brought hither.

September 17.—I returned visits to y^e Dominican and Augustine Fryers.

September 18.—I went to see y^e King of Persia, Sha Suliman,¹ ride abroad to take y^e aire. The person that gave me intelligence not coming in time to see his Majestie take horse, I waited at y^o Bridge foot (where he was to passe) till his returne. I was advised to salute him by pulling off my hatt, after the European manner, which he expects from all Franks. So soon as the King saw me, he turned to y^e Vezier to know who I was, not having seen me before. The Vezier not being able to informe him, the King sent one of his Shatirs,² or Footmen, to Monsieur Sein (a French Jeweller who has served this King and his Father many years), standing near me, to enquire who I was. The Mons^r made him answ^r, I was an English gentleman lately come to towne from India to see y^e Court. He looked very chearfully, and gave me a gentle nod, telling me in Turkish "I was Well-come",—which is esteemed an exceedingly great honor; indeed, the generallity of mankind here are more respectfull and civill to Strangers than they are (for the most part) in any Citty in Christendome.

September 20.—I received a Visit from y^e Emperour's Ambassador (a learned, grave Bishop). He lived many yeares at Legorne, and was well acquainted with divers of our Nation there.

September 23.—I received a Visit from y^e Pope's Nuncio, Mons^r. Sampson, a French Priest.

September 24.—I returned a Visit to y^e Emperor's Ambassador.

September 27.—I mett y^e Compte De Soria, the King of Poland's Ambassador, on y^e Bridge at Spahan. After divers compliments, he desired y^e favour of a Visit, which I promised him.

¹ Shah Sulaimān, great-great-grandson of Shah 'Abbas, reigned from 1668 to 1691.—Y.

² Shātīr, "a courier, a footman."—Y.

September 30.—I visited y^e King of Poland's Ambassador, who received and entertained me with great Courtesy and respect.

October 1685.

October 2.—I returned a visit to Mons^r. Sampson, y^e Pope's Nuntio.

October 10.—Sig^r. Fabricius, the King of Sweden's Ambassador, gave me a Visit.

October 20.—I met the King of Persia in y^e Choar Bog, or Long Walke.¹ I satt a horseback till he past by. Seeing me salute him, [he] returned me a courteous nodd.

October 27.—I visited Sig^r. Fabricius, y^e Swedes' Ambassador.

October 30.—Mons^r. Varine, a French watchmaker, carried me to see the King of Persia's Pallace, built by Sha Abbas y^e Great & Sha Sefee, his Successor.

November 1685.

November 6.—Mons^r. Varine accompanied me to see y^e Pallace built by this King of Persia, Sha Soliman, called Hesti-be-hest.² Some days before, Hoga Kiragoos shewed my cousin Letter and me y^e King's great garden; called Hazar-jerib.³

¹ The *Chahār Bāgh* (lit. "Four-Garden"), the great public garden or square; but the name was also applied to the long avenue which led to it.—Y.

² Kaempfer says: "The garden *Bulbul* . . . has been so improved and adorned by the multitude of promenades, avenues, palace-buildings, and works of topiary and hydraulic artists, that it is said nothing so beautiful is to be found in the whole kingdom, especially since the last master-touches have been put to the place in the middle of it . . . and from the king himself it has received the magnific name of *Hestibehest*, i.e., of the Eighth Paradise." (*Amenitates Exoticæ*, 190-191.) *Hestibehest*, lit. "The Eighth Paradise."—Y.

³ *Hazar-jerib*, "One thousand (square) chains". I do not know how much the Persian *jerib*, or square chain, was.—Y.

December 1685.

December 1.—I hired 125 Camells to carry mine and Mr. Robert Dowglasse's Bales; at Mahmoodies 80 for 100 Maunds Tauris, to Bagdat, and 13 mules to carry our luggage, at Mahmoodies 90 per 100 Maunds Tauris.¹

December, 13.—This day I left Spahan, and began my journey towards Aleppo, by way of Bagdát.

I came out in company with Mr. Dowglasse, my Cousin Nathanael Letter, and my Nephew Robert Hedges. Mr. Daniel Edwards (then Chief for y^e Hon^{ble}. Comp^y's affaires in Persia) and Mr. Henry Lawrence (another of y^e said Comp^y's Servants) favored us with their good company to Mahmoot-Alli-Beig's Caravan-sarai, about 2' hours' riding from Julfa. Divers French Protestants (Servants to y^e King of Persia) obliged us likewise to [? let them] come with us to this place, viz., Mons^{sr}. Sein, M. Letuall, M. Varein, M. Jurt, M. Pere Grange, M. de Fino, M. Teudor, and one Frenchman more, whose name I cannot call to mind.²

December 14.—This afternoon Mr. Edwards took his leave of us and returned to Spahan. We lay here till our Camell and Mujeinen had discharged all their debts at this place and at Spahan.

December 15.—We rose from Mahmoot-Alli-Beig's Caravansarai and lay at Challisea, where y^e present Veseir, Sheck-Alli-Chan, is building a new large Caravansarai. Here we were forced to compound with y^e Rattaree-men² for y^e

¹ The Mann (or maund) Tabrizi is called by Fryer—6½ lb. English; and Prinsep gives it at 6 lb., 5 oz. 7.2 dr. Mr. Wollaston, however, in his English-Persian Dict., gives "from 7½ to 7¾ lb. avoird." For the mahmudi, see p. 203.—Y.

² Rahdari. A transit duty collected on the pretext of protection afforded to traffic, but often very arbitrary, and little better than black-mail.—Y.

Dutys on our goods, which, for all our Mules and camels, cost us 85 Mahmoodies. This Manzeill is 7 houres riding.

December 16.—We rose from Challisea and lay at Deha¹: 9 houres. All good way. About an hour short of this place we passed by a large town and a good Caravansarai. On y^e road I received letters from Aleppo and Bagdat.

December 17.—Our Camells not coming up with us, we lay this day at Deha.

December 18.—We lay still at Deha.

December 19.—We rose from Deha and lay at Deharaban: 9 houres riding.

December 20.—We rose from Deharaban and lay at Cogga: 6 houres. This day one of our Camells fell downe and broke his leg, which caused us to lye here 2 dayes.

December 23.—We rose from Cogga and lay at Macliana: 6 houres riding.

December 24.—We lay at Mecliana.

December 25.—We rose from Mecliana and lay at Bog: 6 houres. A good large Caravansarai, & y^e best water I have drank in Persia.

December 26.—We rose from Bog and lay at []: 7 hours.

December 27.—We rose from [] and lay at Saroo: 6 hours.

December 28 & 29.—We lay still at Saroo, upon a hill, at a good Caravansarai: y^e weather exceeding cold.

December 30.—We rose from Saroo and lay at Deezabad: 5 hours riding.

December 31.—We rose from Deezabad and lay at Nana: 8 hours.

¹ Challisea and Deha appear in Dupré (*Voyage en Perse*; i, 288, 287) as Tchallise and Dehak. He mentions a great caravanserai at the former, but ascribes the building to the munificence of the grandmother of Futtah 'Ali Shah, then reigning.—Y.

January 1686.

January 1, 2, 3, 4.—We lay at Nana, occasioned by the vast quantity of Snow that fell all these 4 days without intermission.

January 5.—We rose from Nana and lay at Faraspa: 10 hours riding. One of our Camel men, being sick, rode upon a Camel, and was found dead. We judge he was frozen to death.

January 6.—My Nephew Hedges and I rose from Farespa (leaving Mr. Dowglass and my Cousin Letter with y^e Camels) and lay at Kengauar.¹ On y^e road we were overtaken with a letter from my Cousin Letter, advising, since my departure they were robbed of all their money, to the sum of 4 Tomauns, and one Bale of Luckarees² opened, out of which 36 Peices were stolen.

January 7.—We rose from Kengauar and lay at Sohana: 7 hours riding.

January 8.—We rose from Sahana and lay at Bisetoon y^e best Caravan-sarai I have seen in Persia, near a very fine large fountaine issuing out of a Rock: 5 hours riding.

January 9.—We rose from Bisetoon and lay at Kirmansha.

January 10.—This morning, 2 hours before day, I despatched away Hoga Bureat with 5 Tomanas, to meet

¹ We have now got into the direct route from Hamadan to Bagh-dad, and it is more easily followed. This is *Kungāvar* (*Kongaver*, etc.), a place of old note, the *Kongavar* of Isidore of Charax. The next stage is *Sahana*, and then *Bisutun* (*Bihūn*, *Baghista*, "the place of gardens", *Baqīānūn* or *Baqīānūn* of the Greeks), the site of the famous spring, and of the rock-inscriptions in cuneiform, with which the name of Rawlinson is for ever associated. The next stage is the well-known city *Kirmanshah*. Then *Pul-i-Shah* ("King's Bridge"), *Mah-i-dash*, *Harunabad*.—Y.

² We find *Lacewries* among piece-goods of Bengal in Milburn's *Or. Commerce*. Possibly stuffs dyed with lac.—Y.

Mr. Dowglasses and my Cousin Letter, and to hasten them hither.

January 11 to 22.—We lay still at Kirmansha, occasioned by the tyrannical and abusive useage of y^e Governor, Coole-Sha-Kan, Sheih Alli Har's Son, who caused divers bales of our goods and chests to be opened for Gold or Silver, which is forbid to be exported out of y^e Country. To prevent his doing us greater mischief, we were forced to present him and his Servants to the value of 15 Tomans in money and goods.

January 22.—We rose (with much joy) from Poolesha (near Kermansha) and lodged at Moydasht: 6 hours riding.

January 23 & 24.—We lay at Moydasht.

January 25.—We rose from Moydasht and lay at Harnawar.

January 26, 27, & 28.—We lay at Harnawar, where y^e Aga of the Village carried us a Coursing, & killed 2 Hares.

January 29.—We rose from Harnawar & lay at Aslan Chesmesi, not being able to reach Gamber-Chesmesi by reason of the great depth of Snow, that made y^e Road unpassable with Camels.

January 30.—We lay at Aslan Chesmesi. Here I saw Bread made of Acorns and Barley.

January 31.—We rose from Aslan Chesmesi and lay at Gamber-Chesmesi: an hour & halfe Riding.

February 1686.

February 1 & 2.—We lay at Gamber Chesmesi.

February 3.—We rose from Gamber Chesmesi and lay at Mansoor, in the open fields, then covered with snow, under an oake.

February 4.—We rose from Mansoor and lay at Gilan.

This day we passed over a very great steep Mountain : 7 hours riding.¹

February 5 & 6.—We lay at Gilan, under a black haire tent, as we had done divers nights before.

February 7.—We rose from Gilan and lay at Chamsura, a pitifull, poore Village : 8 hours riding. The first 3 hours passed over a great Mountaine ; y^e latter part exceeding dirty.²

February 8 & 9.—We lay at Chamsura, a pittifull Village of haire cloth tents.

February 10.—We rose from Chamsura, and were forced to take up our lodging halfway our Stage, where it rained all night. This day we passed between y^e Mountains over divers violent rapid torrents ; one of them carried away two of our Camells, with their loads, and we were in great danger to have lost both goods and Camelis. An Asse was carryed away and immedately drowned. A mule, laden with a chest of wrought Silke Stuff, for account of M^r. Daniel Edwards of Spahan, and a bale of my best goods, were carried 2 miles down the river ; and had it not been for y^e great diligence of one of my Servants, they had both been lost.

February 11.—We rose from y^e side of this rapid river and lay at Sambur, y^e last town belonging to y^e Persians.

February 12.—We rose from Sambur, accompanied with 6 or 7 Soldiers, who brought us to their bounds on y^e top of y^e hill, and tooke their leaves ; and we lay at Mandali, frontier town under y^e Turks.

¹ This is a pass across Mount Zagros, sometimes called the Pass of Allah Akbar, some 20 miles to the S.W. of the more usual pass between Kirmānshāh and Baghdad, by the Tak-i-Girrah, or Gates of Zagros. Rennell supposed it to be the pass ascended by Alexander, identifying Gilan with the Kelone of Diocorus ; but this Rawlinson rejects. In the latter's famous paper in *J. R. G. S.* (ix, 44) will be found interesting particulars about Gilan. He speaks of the direct passes between Harūnabad and Gilan (viz., as followed by Hedges) as very difficult.—Y.

² This pass is over the Anārīsh mountain to Jamsūr, where the roads from Baghdad by the Gilan and Tak passes diverge.—Y.

February 13 & 14.—We lay at Mandali.¹ Here we paid Rattarree: an Abassee and 8 Cosbies for every Camell, and 1 Mahmoodies and 4 Cosbies for each mule.

February 15.—We rose from Mandali, accompanied with y^e Governor or Aga, and 10 Soldiers with 2 Colours. We were not able to reach Belad-il-roos (our Manzil), and lay in y^e open fields.

February 17 & 18.—We lay at Belad-il-Roos.²

February 19.—We rose from Belad-il-Roos and lay at Bookoroos.³

February 20.—We ferried our goods and Camels over y^e River Dealal.⁴ We rose about sun set, and lay at an old ruinous Caravansarai: 3 hours riding towards Bagdat.

February 21.—We rose from y^e Caravansarai, and arrived about 12 o'clock this day at Bagdat (God be praised), all in good health, having been 71 dayes on our Journey from Spahan to this place.

We were this night most courteously invited and entertained by Padre Georgio Di Vadosme, Superior of y^e Capuchine Fryers at this place.

February 22.—We lay at y^e Convent.

February 23.—We removed to a house in y^e towne, where we had large and convenient accommodation for ourselves, goods, and horses.

Here I mett with an Imperial Command, procured at Constantinople by M^r. Samuel Lannoy, and forwarded to me by my Cousin, Robert Wakeman of Aleppo, directed to y^e Pasha, Janizary Aga, Customer, & all other persons of Public employment in this City, to be treated with respect and kindness, and to have no more exacted from me than was

¹ Sambar and Mandali are *Saumdr* and *Mendali* (still the Turkish frontier-town) of Rawlinson (*J. R. Geog. Soc.*, ix, 46).—Y.

² Bela-Droz (?) of Rich.—Y.

³ Behruz, cf. P. della Valle (*Letter I* from Isphahan).—Y.

⁴ Diyalah.

allowable by our Capitulation with y^e Grand Sig^r. However, y^e Chief Customer here (as at all places in y^e Empire where they are able) took the advantage of my great distance from y^e Port, and forced me to pay 5 per cent. Custome for all my goods ; besides, he was so unjust as to overrate all things so much, that in truth I paid 8 or 9 per cent. for y^e whole, one with another. But, to make me some kind of amends and satisfaction for this oppression, to give him his due, he was otherwise very kind and respectfull to me, not suffering any other person to be y^e least injurious to me. Besides y^e Chief Customer (by y^e force of presents), I had y^e favour of y^e Shabender, a person in great esteem, especially amongst Merchants ; being properly a Judge of all differences and disputes that happen betwixt them ; and one that appears for them before y^e Pasha, or Mufti, or Caddi, when they are opprest by y^e Government. These two persons, the Chief Customer and Shabender, accompanied me to y^e Pacha's Seraglio a-horseback, where I was received in y^e kindest manner, sitting before the Pasha (all other persons standing), being entertained with Coffee, Shirbet, and Perfumes. I paid well for it by y^e rich presents which I gave him ; but, without this means and manner of addressing, with y^e helpe of the Turkish Language, I judge if next to an impossibility for a Franke to passe this way with so considerable an estate, without being eaten up and ruined by y^e Government. However, we sold a great quantity of Indian Cloth, &c., to defray our charges, not suffering any of our Gold to be seen which we brought from Spahan, for fear of being killed for it, but carried it on with me to Aleppo.

Bagdat stands on y^e Chaldean side¹ of y^e Tigris, y^e River washing one side about a quarter part of y^e City. It is a most pleasant, fruitful, healthfull situation, in y^e degree of 33 $\frac{1}{2}$. It rarely snows in this place, and when it does, it never lies many hours on y^e ground. It's a'most y^e same

¹ I.e., on the left or eastern bank.

Latitude as Spaha, our course being due West all the way. Yet, by reason of y^e great height of y^e country and y^e vast mountains we pass over in Persia, it is there exceedingly much colder in y^e Winter than ever I felt it in England.

We had a robust, hardy Camel man that fell sick: & being forced to ride upon a Camel, between y^e Bales, was frozen to death, between Nana & Farossa, y^e 5th Ultimo. We thought it convenient to alight and walke two or three times in a morning, to prevent the freezing of our toes, fingers, & faces.

In Bagdat I fitted myselfe with store of provisions (as Biskett, Rice, Butter, Spice, Coffee, Shirbett, &c.) for the continuance of my Journey to Aleppo.

I bought two large tents with 2. Posts apiece to cover my goods, and a Kitchin Tent for y^e Cooke and servants. I had a very stately large tent for myselfe, which I brought out of Bengall, with y^e Walls that stood about it high enough to prevent a horseman's looking over: 'twas as much as two Camels could well carry.

March 1686.

[No entry whatever in this month. Remaining at Bagdad.]

April 1686.

April 11.—I left my lodgings in Bagdat and lay in my tent, pitched on y^e Mesopotamia side of y^e River Tigris.

April 13.—The Caravan rose and pitched at Emam-Zade, about 3 hours' riding towards Moosul or Ninave.¹

April 14.—The Caravan lay still, and Mr. Dowglasses, Mr. Letter, my Nephew, and I went to see a great Tower called Nimrod, built of Sun-burnt bricks,² about 2 hours' riding from

¹ Nineveh.

² The great ruin 11 miles west of Bagdad, called 'Akarkuf, also known as *Tel-Nimrud*, *Minar-an-Nimrud*, and *Kast-Nimrud* ("The Tower, or Mound, or Palace of Nimrod").—Y.

Einam Zade; & this morning I returned to Bagdat Bridge, where I mett Padre Georgio di Vadosme, from whom I received a packet of letters from Consul Nightingale and my Cousin, Robert Wakeman of Aleppo. About 9 o'clock we sett out from y^e Bridge, and arrived at our Caravan, lying at Tangoos, near y^e River Tigris.

April 16.—We set out before day and travelled to Mansura: 6 hours.

April 17.—We set out by 5 o'clock and travelled through cornfields, and lay amongst them.

April 18.—We travelled 6 hours, and lay a little beyond Deegill.¹

April 19.—We sett out by break of day and travelled 6 hours, and pitched by Usire-Beig's Tents, a Prince of y^e Arabs, who commands y^e country between Bagdat and Moosul; him we hired for P. 550 in money, and divers considerable presents, to conduct us with 50 horsemen to Moosul.

April 20.—We sett out a little after 4 o'clock and travelled till 11, and pitched upon ye banke of y^e Tygris.

April 21.—We travelled 5 hours, and lay upon y^e banke of y^e River.

April 22.—We travelled 2 hours to Tigrett.²

April 23.—We travelled 5 hours. These 4 last dayes journey was most of it through Cornfields.

April 24.—We rose very early, and travelled 3 hours through the highest and finest meddows of 3 leaved grass that ever I saw, intermixt with some thicketts of Tamarisk trees. It rained hard all the way. We pitched near an old Caravansarai.

April 25.—We rose before day, and travelled 9 hours to a place called Fina Su, which in Turkish signifies "Bad

¹ Sumeighah, or *Dujell*, 36 miles north of Baghdad, on the banks of an ancient canal bearing the latter name—“Little Tigris”. (See *J. R. G. S.*, ix, 444.)—Y.

² *Tikrit*, on the Tigris.—Y.

Water",¹ taking its name from the brackishness of the water.

April 26.—We sett out by 3 o'clock and travelled 9 hours. We passed over a mountaine of exceeding white Marble, and pitched in a most pleasant, fruitful valley, near the river.

April 27.—We sett out by 5 this morning, and travelled over a most fruitful meadow of Rye Grasse, 3 leaved grasse, and sanfoin.

April 28.—We sett out at 3 o'clock and travelled 7 hours. About Sunrising we passed a Valley covered with a thick, Bitumenous substance of y^e consistence of Pitch, of a strong Sulphurous Stench. About a muskett shot from hence we passed a small Rivulet; y^e Water looked of y^e colour of Brimstone. We judged it came from a mine of that nature.² We pitched in a plaine opposite to y^e mouth of y^e River Zarbe.³

April 29.—We sett out at 4, and travelled 7 hours over y^e most pleasant, fertile Valley that we have yet seen, far exceeding any of y^e former, being full of 3 leaved White, Red, and Yellow Honeysuckle grasse. We pitched our tents in another plaine, about a mile beyond y^e hot baths, which proceed from these Sulphurous mines. Divers of our Company went into y^e baths. Upon y^e topp of y^e Water (like a ~~clump~~) they take off great quantity of a Black, Pitchy substance, which y^e Natives chew in their mouths to fasten their teeth & for Wantoness, which they call black Mastick.⁴

April 30.—We arrived at Musul; its Latitude is 36° 15'.⁵

¹ *Fand su.*—Y.

² These are the asphalt springs at *Al-Kayydra*, or "The Pitch place", briefly described by W. Ainsworth in *J. R. G. S.*, xi, 3.—Y.

³ Zab.

⁴ These are the baths called *Hammam' Al*, south of Mosul, also noticed by Ainsworth, *ith id.*, p. 2.—Y.

⁵ True lat., 36° 25'.

This Citty stands on Mesopotamia side of y^e River Tigris, the River washing about a quarter part of its Walls. It is finely situated in a most fruitfull soile. The Citty is of large extent, about 3 miles in compasse; the walls, formerly very strong and thick, with a broad, dry ditch about them, fortified after y^e old fashion, full of towers. On y^e other side of y^e River are to be seen vast Ruines of Buildings, which y^e Natives say was Old Nineveh: this is on y^e Caldea side. 4 miles (or thereabout) Westward of Musul stands a great old Church, to which y^e Christians of this Citty, most of them of y^e Nestorian Opinion, resort every Saturday, in y^e Afternoon, and lye in y^e Church, on carpetts, all night, to be early at their devotion in y^e morning,—who are poor, ignorant creatures, for y^e most part have little more knowledge of Christian Religion than y^e strict observation of Lent, and their other fasts and festivals. Here is an honest, poor Capuchin Fryer, a Frenchman, to whom we were much obliged for his civill respect to us, and information of all things remarkable in these parts.

Here our Arab Prince Usire tooke his leave of us, after he had consigned [us] to y^e Pasha of Musul; and here we remained till y^e 26th May, preparing ourselves for the prosecution of our Journey to Aleppo.

May 1686.

May 12.—My Cousin, Nathanael Letter, having received letters from his Father, the same day he departed from Buggdat, to returne for Bengall in India. He came thus far with us on our journey, having provided all things necessary for that purpose, which could not be conveniently separated from ours till we came to stay at this place. Here he hired passage for himselfe and two servants for P. 15, on a Killet, which is a frame of wood buoyed up by a great number of goat-skins, blowne up as Bladders with wind, and fastened to the frame: with these devices they carry and transport to

Bagdat vast weights and great store of goods, with a small draught of water, and, the River being very rapid, performe their Voyage in 2 dayes and a halfe, which we were 15 days coming up by land. I tooke leave this evening about sunsett of my cousin Letter, upon his Killet, wishing him a prosperous Voyage for Bengal, and returned to my tents, about halfe a mile out of y^e Citty.

May 15.—I went to see the Nestorian Church, an hour's riding distant from Musull, where we were most courteously entertained by y^e Christians.

May 17.—The Caravan of Camels (our Carryage was of Mules) pitched at y^e North Gate of y^e Citty.

May 18.—A new Mussellim¹ (a Pasha's Deputy) arrived at Musul, to whom we thought good to give some small presents, to prevent him doing us any mischief.

May 20.—The Mansoold¹ (or displaced) Pasha of Kirkooke² (a Citty in Chaldea) arrived over against Musul, and pitched his tents there, to take y^e opportunity and advantage of our Company, being on his returne for Constantinople.

May 26.—We left Musul, and ferryed over y^e Tigris with all our goods very early in y^e morning, and pitched on y^e Chaldean side.

May 27.—We set out by 4 in y^e morning, and travelled 6 hours over a fertile, good Country, full of grasse and corn-fields, and pitched by a towne inhabited by Koords and Ezeedees.³ These people are said to worship the Devil.

May 28.—We travelled 6 hours over a most delicious

¹ "Mussellim" is *musallim* used for *mutasallim*, "a lieutenant to a governor, sent before to take possession for his superior", but commonly used for a governor of a certain rank. "Mansoold" is a quasi-English participle, made from *ma'sul*, "displaced or superseded."—Y.

² *Kerkak*, 60 to 70 miles east of the Tigris, the seat of a Pashalik, and famous for the great naphtha springs near it.—Y.

³ Ainsworth describes a visit to the Yezidis near Mosul, in *J. R. G. S.*, xi, 91, seqq.; and Layard does the like in *Nineveh and its Remains*, I, ch. ix.—Y.

country, and pitched on y^e top of a hill, near a delicate, large fountaine.

May 29.—We set out at 3, and travelled till 9 o'clock, through a pleasant and fruitful country, having passed over a small but exceeding rapid river.

May 30.—We rose by 2 in y^e morning, and travelled over a great Plaine, 5 houres, to y^e foot of a Mountain, where y^e usual stage is for Caravans to repose; but our Mulemen, knowing y^e straightness and difficulty of y^e Passage, by reason of y^e scraggedness of y^e Rocks, thought good to pass all difficulties this day, and lodged on a plaine halfe way over y^e mountaine.

May 31.—We sett out early, and passed y^e rest of y^e mountaine, on y^e skirts of which were many Arab Tents, and pitched at Zacloo,¹ on y^e banks of the lesser river Caboor, in y^e Bey of Amadee's territories, who is a Christian Prince of y^e Nestorian Religion,² and is able to bring 20,000 Coords, all able Soldiers, into y^e field, for his own defence.

June 1686.

June 1.—We rose at break of day and passed y^e bridge over y^e river Caboor, for which we paid 2 Baglattees and $\frac{1}{2}$ for every horse, mule, or asse in our Company. About 3 hours after we passed this bridge we forded over the river Chissell, a very rapid stream.³ This river divides the country of Amadee and Gizra. We pitched near a Village wholly inhabited by Nestorians.

June 2.—We rose by 3 in y^e morning, and travelled 6

¹ Read *Zachoo*. *Zakhū* is on the (Kurdish) *Khabür*, about 50 miles E. by S. of *Jazira*. See *Balgor, Nestorians*, i, 70.—Y.

² *Amadiya*, formerly a great centro of the Nestorian or Chaldean Christians, and seat of a hereditary *Pashalik*, about 60 miles N.W. by N. of *Mosul*.—Y.

³ The *Heizā*, or *Khisā*, joins the Kurdish *Khabür* a little below *Zakhū*. (See *Ritter*, ix, 716.)—Y.

hours, having the Mountaines of Coordistan on y^e right hand and y^e Tigris on y^e left. On the top of one of these Koor-distan Mountains¹ the country people say Neah's Arke rested. We pitched in a rich plaine, full of all sorts of sweet Herbes and Mulberry trees.

June 3.—We set out by 3 in y^e morning, and travelled over a hill which brought us in sight of y^e City Gizra,² where we arrived about an hour after Sunrising. It stands on an Island in y^e Tigris, over which, from y^e Caldean or Assirian side, you are conveyed by a Bridge of boates to y^e Citty, and on y^e Mesopotamian side by a Stone bridge without Arches, over which are loose boards layed, to be taken up on a suddaine, to prevent y^e incursion of Arabs. The City is walled, but now gone much to decay: here we payed a dollar for every load of goods; besides considerable presents to y^e Governor and Customer. We were here refreshed with plenty of fruit, as Apples, Apricots, Cherries, & black and white Mulberries. We continued several dayes at this place.

June 6.—We crossed the river and pitched on Mesopotamia side. This evening we went to see some pleasant Gardens on y^e side of a Hill to y^e Westward of y^e Citty, watered with divers large Fountains of excellent good water, full of watercresses.

June 7.—We sett out early, and travelled over a stony, mountainous Country full of springs, which, notwithstanding the stones, makes it full of grass; and in divers places are to be seen large fields of rice. This evening newes was brought us that we must returne to Gizra: Mehmet Usire (who commands y^e whole country between Moosul and Diarbekir), a Prince of Arabs, having sent a menacing letter to

¹ *Re.*, on *Jibal Jadi*, a range of great height, 80 miles nearly due north of Moosul, generally believed by the Mahomedans to be the resting-place of Noah's Ark.—Y.

² *Jazira* (or *Sezireh*), i.e., "The Island", sometimes called *Jazira-Ibn 'Omar*, on the Tigris 90 to 100 miles above Moosul.—Y.

y^e Bey of Gizra, "if he permitted us to pass through his country that way, and came not downe towards Nisibeen to pay his duty which he demands of all Caravans, he would destroy all y^e subjects of Gizra, and villages belonging to them": to which command we thought it our safest course to yield obedience, after we had spent much money and loss of time to no purpose.

June 8.—We retynred to Gizra againe. This night, Phettee Chellibeā, a Nestorian, brought me assurance from Mehmet Usire (whom he had been to visit) that I should have safe passage through his country, and be kindly used by him.

June 9.—We sett out with y^e Pasha of Kirkooke (being upon his returne to Constantinople from his government on Caldea side), with some merchant subjects of y^e Grand Seignor that came in his company. Our Caravan now consisted of above 1000 Camells and Mules, with about 300 horsemen, and lodged always in the fields as near as we could where we might have y^e greatest plenty of Water.

June 10.—We sett out very early, travelling through a pleasant country well watered with small rivulets, and grasse to ye horses' bellies. This day, y^e Pasha of Kirkooke, seeing me on y^e road, sent a person desiring to speak with me. I rode with him about 2 hours, discoursing of divers parts of y^e world, especially of the East Indies: he is an ingenious, civill person, Nephew to y^e famous old Vezier Cuperlee.¹

June 11.—We rose early and travelled 8 hours over a pleasant country, as was that of yesterday. This day we met with Mehmet Usire, the Prince of y^e Arabs governing this part of y^e Country. We pitched near his tents. He was accompanied with about 200 horse, and 40 or 50 footmen with long guns. I went to wait on him, and a great carpet, being

¹ Kapurli, Pasha of Damascus, made Vizir by Mahomet IV in 1666, when already eighty years of age; a strong, sagacious, and merciful man; died in 1661, and was succeeded by his son — Y.

spread, we sat down and drank Coffee, and were entertained with y^e usual ceremonies and civilities of the Country. These 2 days last past we had y^e Mountain Sanjar in sight to y^e Southward of us, out of which arises y^e River called y^e Great Caboor, which empties itself into y^e Euphrates above Ana.¹ The Arabs say Noah's Arke was built in this mountaine, and that it struck first in this place, and ~~rested~~ afterwards on y^e mountaine in Koordistan (before ~~mentioned~~) called Gibbal Jeude.² This night we made our present to Mehmet Usire, y^e Arabian Prince.

June 12.—This morning Mehmet Usire, out of some particular designe to enhance our dutys, caused us to ~~raise~~ our tents and pitch them againe about 2 hours' riding from y^e Pasha of Kirkooke. All this day was spent in capitulating with y^e Arabs about payment of our dutys; but night came on before they could be adjusted.

June 13.—We were detained till 2 in y^e afternoon by Mehmet Usire before we could make an end with him, and then were forced to pay him P.³ 1800 in money and goods. The Villaine would not permitt us to sett up our tents all this day, but forced us to lye broyling in y^e Sun all this day to afflict us. Having procured his permission to depart, we made all possible haste to reach Nisibeen, where it pleased God to bring us in safety an hour within night.

A little before we rose this afternoone, Mehmet Uaire, like a perfidious Thief, ordered his brother, with a party of 25 Horsemen, to goe before and lye in a convenient place undiscovered, a little distance from y^e road, on purpose to assault

¹ The Khabur, anc. Chaboras, joins the Euphrates at the site of ancient Ctesium, a long way above Anah.—Y.

² See p. 226.

³ The symbol in the copy is obscure, but seems to mean Piastres. The Turkish piastre struck in 1787, was worth 1s. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. In Hedges' time it probably meant a larger sum, but it is difficult to ascertain.—Y.

me and drive away my Sisanall,¹ or Sunter Horse, with as many of my laden Mules as he was able to procure. But it having pleased God to put it into my thoughts to make greater haste than ordinary to reach and pass a Bridge over a good large River about 2 miles short of Nisibeen, to avoid y^e crowd of mules which many times would force us to wait halfe an^t hour for an opportunity to pass over, coming to y^e Bridge, notwithstanding y^e great haste I made, a parcell of laden mules were got before me. I then ordered my Servant that led y^e Sisenall to ford the River, which he scrupeling, not knowing its depth, I tooke y^e Sisenall in my owne hand and got safely over: which I had no sooner done but I heard a great noise, and 2 or 3 guns fired, and was presently told y^e Caravan was assaulted by 25 Horsemen commanded by Mehmet Usire's Brother, who, missing of me in y^e hurry (by Divine Providence), sett upon a Turk Merchant's goods, of Aleppo, and carryed away 2 mules' lading of fine Indian Cloth, and a Sisenall of provisions and other necessaries, which they supposed to be mine, and missed of their designe but a few minutes, I being providentially got over the river before the Spie² employed by them could give them intelligence of my being got so near y^e bridge.

The Turke Merchant that was robbed returned y^e next day to Mehmet Usire, and lamentably complayning at his unjust and unkind usage (having paid him all his duties, and being fairly dismissed by him), the perfidious Arab told him he was exceeding sorry for his misfortune, his Brother's designe and his being only to take 2 or 3 mules' lading of *my* goods and Sisenall with Sapets,³ which he thought were full of

¹ There is a Pers. word *Nitskhana*, a beast of burden, a bat-horse. And in Bianchi's Dict. (*Turc-Français*), 1835, we find that this in Turkish is commonly made into *Silone* (or *Silena*). This must be the word used by Hedges, though we cannot account for the termination.—Y.

² I.e., Spie, horsemanship, same word as *sipahi*, or *sepoy*.—Y

³ Qu. *sa, ud*, "basket"?

money; but seeing he was so unfortunate, he should have all his goods restored to him: which he fully performed, save only a few trifles to a small Value taken by his brother,—so maliciously bent are these villainous Arabs to y^e destruction of Europeans.

June 14.—We sett out by 4 o'clock and travelled to Cara-Derry,¹ 6 hours, where we saw y^e ruines of exceeding costly and sumptuous buildings, well described by Mons^r. Tavernier. It is now a small town with pretty gardens on y^e back side of y^e hill, out of sight of travellers. Here we were mett by y^e Customer of Diarbekeer, who tolled our loads, and tooke y^e custom & dutys of all the 3 places of Nisiben, Mardeen, & Diarbekir.

June 15.—As we were setting out early this morning by break of day, we were overtaken by our Turke Merchant who was robbed of his 3 mules' lading of goods near Nisiben; he came to us starke naked, with one person more in y^e like condition, having been robbed of his horse and stripped to his skin by 12 Arab horsemen, which he counted, and believes them more, who told him they came thither on purpose to surprize and set upon me as I was rising, but, meeting with him in y^e very nick of time, lost their opportunity to put their intended designe into execution, being informed by their Spie that I was mounted and following the caravan in so good order that they durst not adventure to assault me: so mercifully has it pleased God to shew himselfe in preferring me this second time. For both deliverances I beseech him to make me truly thankful.

¹ Kara Darah, or Dara, the site of the famous *Daras*, or *Dara*, fortified first by Anastasius, and then by Justinian, as a barrier against Persia; taken, after a siege of five months, by Cuorces (Naushirwan). See Gibbon, chs. xl and xli. Tavernier, in the passage which Hedges refers to (Bk. II, ch. iv), calls the place Karasara. It is said, in the *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Geog.*, a. v. *Daras*, that "D'Anville has tried, but we think in vain, to find any town or ruins which may mark the site of *Dara*." But see Ritter, xi, 398, seqq.; and see Niebuhr, *V. of Asia*, ii, 872; Dupré, *V. en Perse*, i, 85. Ainsworth, *J. R. G. S.*, x, 526.—X.

June 16.—This day we travelled 3 hours to a small Christian Village under Merdeen,¹ which Citty stands upon a steep Hill, and y^e Castle upon y^e top of it.

We rose about half an hour after 3 o'clock, not without apprehensions of some danger, being credibly informed 30 horsemen lay privately on the road to surprize us before we entered y^e hills. I provided for them the best I could by keeping my servants in good order (expecting little or no helpe from the Caravan), but, God be praised, saw none of them. We lay in a pretty little valley between y^e Hills. On the top of one of them was a vast rock, out of which were many great Grottos, curiously cutt out, with vast expence, and divers cisterns for water, besides great ruines, which caused us to believe it had been a most stately building.²

June 17.—We sett out at 3, and travelled 8 hours over divers small rising Hills and fine, pleasant, well-watered Valleys; y^e Hills covered with Oaks, and the Valleys with plenty of grasse and corne. We passed by a pretty town, y^e greatest part of it cut out of a Rock, called Sheck Zooly.³

June 18.—We sett out at 3, and travelled 2 hours over hills and valleys, and then came into a pleasant Downe 3 hours farther, and pitched in sight of Diarbekir.

June 19.—We travelled 4 hours, and pitched near a Christian Village called Alli Punar, about half an hour from Diarbikeer, which lies in y^e Lat^{de} of 38° N.⁴

June 20.—I went into y^e City of Diarbikeer to visit y^e

¹ Mr. Ainsworth (1840) also "had intended not to go up the hill to Mardin, but await at *Göi*, a Christian village on the plain S., a little W. of the city" (*J. R. G. S.*, x, 524).—Y.

² The place seems to be the *Shech Chan* of Niebuhr, *Voyage*, ii, 323.—Y.

³ *Sheikh Zuli*, in Otter, quoted by Ritter, xi, 385.—Y.

⁴ "On a îcy de l'eau en abondance, en partie de la petite rivière *Ali poar*, et en partie des fontaines" (Niebuhr, ii, 326). His route-map shows the village of *Ali poar* about half a German mile west from Diarbekr.—Y.

French Padres of y^e Order of S^t Francis, who received and entertained me with great civility and respect.

July 21.—I went to visit and present y^e Voyvode & Musellim of Diarbikeer, y^e latter of which is y^e most insolent, proud fellow that ever I saw in Turkey, or any other part of y^e world where I have travelled. Here we continued till y^e 6th of July.

Diarbikeer is a large, well-built City, as full of Inhabitants as any in these parts, situate upon y^e banks of y^e Tigris, on Mesopotamia side, in a most fruitful valley.

July 1686.

July 2.—This morning, a little before day, my two Muffrages,¹ or large Portmanteaus, wherein my bedding was carried, with all my wearing apparell, Sword, Pistols, Gold Watch, Yamerlook, and divers other necessaries, together with my two Servants' cloaths, were stolen out of my tent, as near as could be to my Bed's head, 6 or 7 Servants then lying round about me. So soone as I missed them in y^e morning I gave notice of it to y^e Voyvode, who commanded all my Servants before him. After strict examination he chose out 2 persons: the Chout,² an Armenian, who had charge of watching my tent that night; and my Mossalagee,³ or person who carries y^e light before me in y^e night: these two he sent to y^e Massellim, who presently clapt them in chaines. This afternoon a Stranger that had been seen for two nights past to associate with y^e said Mossalagee, and entertained by him, was taken upon suspicion, and also clapt into Irons; and this night, I hear, were severely drubbed to confesse; but no discovery being made, are continued still in prison.

¹ *Mifrāsh*, "travelling bag".—Y.

² Should apparently be *chow*; i.e., T. *chāsh*.—Y.

³ *Mosk'ichti*, a torch-bearer, a word of very common use in India, where the servant so called is, however, usually a kitchen-drudge.—Y.

July 4.—This Stranger, being y^e 3rd person clapt in prison, not discovering who stole my Muffragees; I caused them to be all taken out of chaines, which cost me, all charges, P. 40. The Mussellium was advised to drub y^e Christian Chout¹ to death, assuring himselfe that would be a means to bring him in 2 or 3 purses of money to satisfie the Grand Seignor for y^e death of his Subject,—such is y^e Tyranny and Injustice of y^e Turkish Governors in these parts.

July 6.—About 4 o'clock this morning we sett out from Diarbikeer, and, travelling 6 houres, pitched near a fountaine of good water, in good pasture for our horses.

July 8.—I was taken with so violent a paine on y^e inside of my thigh that it put me into a great fever.

July 9.—We arrived at Severick,² a small towne near y^e ruines of an old Castle. The Aga of this place takes P. $\frac{1}{4}$ on every load of goods, besides a present to his satisfaction. The 4 last dayes journey from Diarbikeer to this place are the most stoney and troublesome for cattell to passe that ever I saw, almost as inconvenient as y^e steep hills of Cong in Persia. The pain of my thigh, and fever, continuing violent and strong upon me, I hired a Chamber in y^e towne, to lye out of y^e noise of y^e Caravan.

July 10.—My thigh began to swell, y^e paine and fever continuing.

July 11.—The swelling of my thigh increased and my Fever something abated. I am now assured my fever is occasioned by this excessive great paine in my thigh; and that, I conceive, may proceed from the growing of one of those dangerous Wormes which are bred by drinking those putrid and corrupt waters at Cong (two of our Company being afflicted with those kinds of Wormes at this present); or else I apprehend it has pleased God to strike me with a

¹ See p. 292.

² Seerrek; S^{er}erek of Niebuhr (ii. 329), half-way between Diarbekr, and Orfa.—¹.

Plague Sore. His Gracious Will be done in all things: a little more patience will discover what it is. Blessed be God for so much strength and intermission as I enjoy at present, to sitt up and write this account of it. I have bespoke, and am promised, a Horse Litter to carry me (if God gives me life) as far as Anlab.¹

July 12.—The last night I took two large doses of Sal Prunello (in two hours' time), which caused me to sweat so freely that before morning it carried off my Fever (God be praised for it); but the swelling and paine of my thigh rather increased than any wise abated. This morning I got into my horse litter, and travelled 6 hours to y^e side of a Hill, near a pretty little river, where we had store of good grasse for our horses. The swelling and paine of my Thigh, as also my fever, increased now to that degree that I was able to write no longer in my Journal, and, despairing of recovery, thought it impossible for me to hold out so long as to gos to Aleppo; however, contrary to my expectation, it pleased God so far to enable me that I arrived at Aleppo on y^e 29th July 1686, being the very day 12 Months that my Cousin Nathanael Letter and I set out of Cong in Persia.

August 1686.

August 2.—My thigh was lanced by my fellow traveller, M^r. Robert Dowglasse, who performed y^e Operation with great judgement and dexterity. There issued out near a Pint of Corruption, and continued running very much till y^e latter end of September.

September 1686.

[*No diary.*]

October 1686.

October 26.—I set out of Aleppo towards Scanderoon,

¹ This must mean Aleppo (*Hulâb*).—Y

1686.] AFTER THREE MONTHS PROCEEDED TO SCANDEROON.

accompanied with Consul Thomas Metcalfe and late Consul Gamaliel Nightingale, together with most of y^e English Nation. The French Consul, Mons^r Julian, did me the honor likewise to send out 6 of his Nation to attend me, who came all together to a baiting place about 2 hours riding out of Aleppo, where we parted (after y^e usual manner) with our Aleppo Friends, and lay this night at Hangear, in comp^r. with my Cousin, Robert Wakeman, M^r Arthur Browne (at whose house I lay at Aleppo), and M^r Darly.

October 27.—M^r Browne and M^r Darly returned to Aleppo. My Cousin Wakeman, Nephew Robert Hedges, and I continued our Journey, and lay this night at y^e Coordeen Village, in y^e Plaines of Antioch.

October 28.—We lay at Byland,¹ 7 miles short of Scanderoon.

October 29.—About 9 o'clock this morning we arrived at Scanderoon. M^r Fisher, y^e Vice Consul, and divers French Merchants mett us about a mile out of town. Here I was most courteously invited by Capt. Spence, Commander of the *Levant Merchant*, and lay aboard his Ship.

October 30.—Capt. Spence invited M^r Fisher, M^r Peter Renouf, M^r Dowglasse, and my Cousin Wakeman aboard his Shippe to a noble entertainement.

October 31.—The same Company were all invited by Capt. Renouf, and dined aboard his Shippe, *James y^e Second*.

November 1686.

November 1.—This afternoon my Cousin Wakeman took his leave, and returned to Aleppo. My Nephew Hedges and I, in a short time after, went aboard the French Shippe, in whom we designed to take our passage for Marseilles, called y^e *Nostra Dama della Guarda*, commanded by Captain Corraill, of that Port.

¹ Beilan.

November 2.—The Wind blowing fresh at South West, we continued in Scanderoon Road.

November 3, 4, 5.—The weather continuing very stormy, with great gusts and violent Showers of rain from y^e mountaines, we lay in Scanderoon Road. This day, 5th, y^e Shippe *Charles* imported¹ from Leghorne, consigned to M^r Peter de Leau & M^r Darly of Aleppo. The wind blew so hard this night that it broke one of our Cables, and had very near driven y^e *Charles* ashore.

November 6.—The weather cleared up, and y^e *James y^e Second* & our Capt. Corraill set saile together about sunset for Cyprus.

November 8.—We arrived at Cyprus.

November 9.—Capt. Renouf arrived at Cyprus. This morning I went ashore at Solinus. Mons^r Balthazar Sauuan (Consul for y^e English, French, and Dutch Nations) sent me his horse to carry me to Larnica, where I was received and entertained with the greatest respect and civility imaginable till y^e 15th ditto.

November 15.—This evening I went aboard of Capt. Corraill. The Commander of y^e *Hollands* Convoy did me the favour to carry me first aboard his owne Shippe, and after Supper sent me on board y^e French man.

This night Captain Renouf sett sail for England; but our Commander, finding y^e wind contrary, and like to be dirty weather, waited for a more seasonable opportunity.

November 18.—We sailed this morning from Cyprus.

November 20.—We lost sight of y^e Island of Cyprus.

December 1686.

December 7.—Being Tuesday, we had a violent Storm at Nth and N.E. off y^e west end of Candy, which put us into so great a terror that we broke and threw overboard our least

¹ Mr. Hedges uses this word for "came into port". See again under January 3rd, 22nd, and 23rd, 1687.—Y.

boat, all our empty Water casks, and whatever else lay in y^e mariners' way upon the deck. It began about noone; y^e Violence of it continued till Midnight, and then abated. We steered W. b. N. and W.N.W., under a Fore Course reefed and lowered halfe Mast. [?] Most of y^e Shipp's crew, as well as y^e Passengers, gave themselves up for lost. God be praised for this deliverance.

December 13.—This day about Noon we discryed y^e Island of Sicilia.

December 15.—About Sunset we saw Cape Bono, and came up with it before morning.

December 16 & 17.—Little wind, and that contrary.

December 18.—It continued all day calme, scarce so much wind as to govern the Ship. In y^e morning we had sight of Sardinia at a great distance.

December 19.—We came up with Sardinia, but y^e Wind blowing fresh at West and W.S.W., were forced to saile on y^e East side of y^e Island. The wind increased this night to a Storme, but continued not above 2 or 3 houres, and then grew calme.

December 20.—We came up and spoke with a French Settee¹ of Marse², wanting two months from Smirna: we spared them some bread for their relief. By break of day this morning we discovered a small Shippe lying under the land, with her sails hauled up, which she soone let fall and stood up to us. We displayed our Colours, and she putt out English Colours, but standing in againe close to y^e shore. We took her to be a Corsaire.

December 21.—We came up with y^e Island Corsica. In y^e afternoon a Shippe lying close under y^e shore stood out towards us, and perceiving she got much upon us, we hauled up our Main sail and Fore saile and stayed for her. Coming

¹A singly-decked Mediterranean vessel with a long and sharp prow, without topmasts, and carrying lateen sails" (Adm. Smyth's *Marine Word-book*).—Y.

up with us, she proved an Argiers man of war of 20 guns and 150 men. Having peace with France, she only wished us a good Voyage, and stood towards Sardinia. She told us y^e ship we saw yesterday was her Consort, belonging to Argiers. This night it blew very fresh, and carryed us about half the length of Corsica.

December 22.—By 6 o'clock this morning it blew a most violent Storme at North, insomuch that for divers hours we could carry no more than a little stay sail to keepe the Ship before the Wind; after some time they got out a little part of our Mainsail, which was all we were able to carry this day and all the night following.

December 23.—The Storme continued without y^e least intermission perceivable till towards 2 or 3 in y^e afternoon. We continued our course due South; but fearing before day we might be driven upon y^e Africa Shoare, lay by with part of our Fore saile. It pleased God that all this night y^e wind was so favourable that we were able to lay our head to the weather.

December 24.—About break of day the storme returned to its former Violence and Rage; and being no longer able to lye by, bore up before it, making all y^e sail we could to recover the Port of Tunis, which, by God's great mercy to us, we obtained, and anchored in y^e Road (5 miles short of y^e usual place of riding) before it was quite so darke that I could not see my hands—for which great Deliverance I beseech y^e Lord to make me truly thankful.

December 25.—The wind blew so hard that we could not send our boats ashore.

December 26.—Our boat set me ashore at y^e Castle of Goletta, where I hired a horse and Guide for P. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ to conduct me to y^e English Consul at Tunis, Thomas Goodwyn, Esq^u who received me with demonstrations of y^e greatest respect & civility that could be showne. He went with me to visit y^e King, who made us sitt downe by him, and entertained

us with Coffee, enquiring after y^e affaires of Turkey and Christendom. Having taken leave of y^e King, we went and saw all y^e Castle; which is well stored with excellent good Gunns of Brasie and Iron.

December 27.—We continued at Tunis till our Scrivan, or purser, had made "Consolato" for y^e damage done y^e Shippe and goods in y^e two stormes we have had since we left Cyprus. We mett here in Port y^e ship *Neptune*, Capt. Milborne commander, and y^e Ship *Francis*, Captain Fore commander. At y^e Consul's house was Capt. Wickers, a person who came to seek employment.

December 28.—I took leave of Consul Goodwyn, Capt. Milborne did me the favor to lend me his boat, and accompanied me himself to Goletta, and thence aboard his Shippe, where I was nobly entertained, and saluted with 13 Guns at our going off, y^e Captain himself accompanying me on board of our Shippe, Capt. Corrai, who immediately weighed anchor and sett sail for Marseille, being about 4 o'clock in y^e afternoon, with a fair wind; but as soon as we gott without y^e Cape of Porta Ferine y^e Wind chopped about and blew hard at North and N.W.

December 29.—We returned and anchored in y^e Bay of Tunis, ever against y^e watering place, nearer y^e Shippes than we lay before.

[*No further entry till January 3.*]

January 1687.

January 3.—The last night and all this day it hath blowne a very great Storne at North and N.N.W. About Noon a Ship imported with French Colors.

January 4.—The Storne continued exceeding violent all y^e last night; our long boat at y^e Sterne was filled full of water. About 12 at Noon y^e rage of y^e Wind and Sea somewhat abated; but y^e waves ran still very high and violent, the Sky continuing much clouded.

January 5.—The Sterme being much abated, Consul Goodwyn wrote me a most kind letter, and sent me a noble present of fresh Provisions by Capt. Milborne's boat, on which I went ashore y^e second time to y^e Consul's house at Tunis, accompanied with my Nephew, Robert Hedges; Mons^t Ainesse, a Frenchman, and Sig^r Clockner, a Hollander.

January 6, 7, 8, & 9.—The Wind blew a great Storm at W. and N.W. by W.

January 10.—The Wind coming up fresh at East and S.E., I tooke my leave of Consul Goodwyn, and came down in a Towne boat to the Castle at Goletta. The sea ran so high that the Boatmen would not adventure to carry us over the Barr; but Capt. Milborne discovering of us with his prospective Glassee, sent his Pinnace to bring us aboard; which it pleased God they performed, though with y^e greatest hazard & difficulty imaginable, the Seamen being all, except y^e Coxon, in y^e Water as high as their Arme pits, to force y^e boat & run her upon y^e sand through y^e Waves, wh^t were very furious and lofty, as usuall upon Barrs. Capt. Milborne, perceiving y^e Hazard, came off in his Yall to our assistance & see us safe aboard y^e French Shippe, designing himself to goe ashore this night (if possible) to Tunis.

January 11.—The Storme increased to a great Violence all this day and y^e night following.

January 12.—This morning it rained hard, and y^e Wind very much abated.

January 13.—The wind increased last night to a greater degree of Violence than it hath done since we came into this port; and this day it has cleared up to a calme from 8 o'clock this morning.

January 14.—The Wind came up a faire and gentle gale, at E. and E.S.E., as faire a Wind as could blow; but because it rained a small drizzling shower our Hen-hearted Provinsalls, would not putt to sea till they saw the Weather better settled.

January 14.—We lay at anchor in y^e Bay of Toulon, the next morning, about 6 o'clock, and were soon visited by a small boat, with 2 Sailors, from a Holland Ship, named "The Tonga," all y^e provisions y^e poor men had on board, according to y^r Obligation, because when he spared our Captain a Butt of Water and a barrel of wood, which we very much wanted, and it was of service to us.

January 15.—The wind coming about last night at 10 o'clock to y^r N.E. and N. b. E., our Captain did not then fit to weigh his anchor, but lay still in y^e port of Toulon. The Wind this day being pretty moderate, Capt. Cosselli came aboard and dined with us, and invited me to dine with him to-morrow aboard his Shippe, y^r *Namida*.

January 16.—The Wind springing up at E. b. N. this last night, we weighed Anchor, and set sail about halfe an hour after 1 o'clock this morning. Being got as far out of y^e Bay of Toulon as y^r Point of Porta Ferine, the Wind increased to a Storm, and so continued all night. Our course, W.N.W. Wind at East and E. b. S.

January 17.—By 8 in y^e morning we saw the Island of Sardinia. By 10 this morning y^r Wind increased to a violent storm. We bore away before it all y^e breadth of Sardinia, and before night anchored near y^r Island Palma de Sol, on the West side of Sardinia, in a good harbour.

January 18.—We lay at anchor; wind at S.E., as said in y^r blow; but our dastardly mariners durst not adventure the Sea, for feare it should blow as hard abroad as it did yesterday.

January 19.—We got under sail this morning by 8 o'clock, and had a good day's sail, till about 12 o'clock, when we saw the Island of Cagliari, which is a large Island, 10 to 12 miles long, and 4 to 5 miles broad, by y^r estimate. The Island is very high, and the Country is very hilly.

of day, but easing the weather a little more (overpart which soon passed over, with a small shower of rain), our Mariners hearts failled, and we returned to anchor near y^e same place from whence we weighed, and had steered N.N.W., y^e due course for Marseilles.

January 20.—A French Settee sailed by us y^e last night, and anchored near y^e bottom of y^e Bay. She came from Toulon, and bound for Tunis. Our boat went ashore this morning to fill water and bring what provisions they can procure from y^e inhabitants. About noon y^e Wind came up fresh at N.W. At Sunsett the Settee sailed for Tunis.

January 21.—Our boat went ashore to buy provisions. Wind at N.E. A great Shame that we are not at Sea, to make y^e best use of it. About noon a Settee coming from y^e Eastward anchored at y^e mouth of y^e Harbour.

January 22.—This last night proving very clear and faire Weather, our Captain for mear shame weighed anchor, and sett sail by daybreak, passing by y^e Settee that importred yesterday: she spared us a Kintall of Biskett. She wanted 4 dayes from Marseilles, and is bound for Candia. Being gott without y^e Island Palma, we found the Wind N. and N. b. W.—a fresh gale; and so returned and anchored before Neone in y^e Gulf of Palma, where another Settee spared us a kind of Biskett & some salt Fish—provisions being very scarce with us.

January 23 & 24.—We lay in y^e Bay of Palma with very faire weather. A Tartan¹ that importred y^e 22nd sett sail from y^e Levant about Midnight; we conceive her bound for Marseilles. About 2 o'clock this afternoon a gentle gale sprung up a^c West; yett our Block-headed Captain and Mariners did not think fitt to Sett sail.

January 25.—The Wind coming up in y^e night a^c West, we got under Sail this morning before day; by Noon we

¹ A small, ill-tempered, ill-tempered, rating vessel.

1807.] ENGLISH SLAVE SHIP PAULE.

Wind bearing to y^e N.W., and shewing by our Charts that we were forced to our old Harbour of y^e 1700th of January. This is our 3rd returne. God send us better fortune y^e next departure.

January 26.—The wind blew exceeding hard all y^e last night, and continues soe to do this morning at West. Our Captain is of opinion it is y^e greatest Storme we have had since we came to sea. God be praised, we are in a very good Port.

January 27.—Yesterday, towards evening, y^e Wind came about to y^e N.W. and N.N.W., and blew most violently y^e greatest part of last night till towards this morning, when it abated with a great Showre of Raine, and continues still at N.N.W.

January 28.—Last night it blew very hard, and this morning early it encreased to an exceeding great Storme, soemuch that our Captain and Mariners (who ought to have had y^e ore courage) despaired of saving their lives, and gave all for lost, betaking themselves wholly to their prayers. The chief occasion of their fears was the Shipp's driving towards y^e Shore, though we had 3 anchors ahead, and at least 2 miles' drift.

About 2 o'clock in y^e afteruoon our Captain and mariners grew into great disorder and confusion; most were for cutting the Cables, and running ashore in the best Creeke we could find; others for cutting down y^e Mainmast; and some few for riding it and expecting God's providence—which latte course had been y^e best; but it determined in cutting downe y^e Mainmast, which was done about halfe an hour after two, when y^e Storm began to abate, and before Sunsett we had little Wind.

We then wiste againe (but too late) for our Main mast. Our boat was sunke at our Sterns in y^e morning by neglect for not throwing out y^e water. In this disperition the Mariners threw every thing overboard that they could light

now, lost so much as a few sticks of Wood to the
Mast, had a Top Gallant Mast, or something like it,
remember I entreated hard to save y^e boat's Grappling.

God Almighty's Name be praised for thy great deliverance,
& grant I may never be necessitated to take my passage
upon a Provincial. They are certainly y^e most despairing,
low spirited Mariners in y^e World when they are brought to
any extremity.

January 29.—It was calme all y^e last night, and this
morning we began to weigh our Anchors and clear our boat
of y^e Water, intending to sail downe to y^e bottom of y^e
Bay to resest y^e Shipps. God knows how long that may be.

At 9 o'clock this morning, obeying two Settees sailing
out of this Bay, I prevailed on y^e Captain to make a West
of his Antient and fire a Gun, in hopes that one of them at
least (seeing our distress) would come on board, pretending
to send a letter to some Port of Italy or France. It pleased
God that this designe tooke its desired effect. The rest of
y^e Settees bound for Mayork^e,¹ without lading, having only 2
Spaniards, passengers, aboard, came to our side, with whom
I agreed for P. 325² to carry my Nephew and me, with y^e rest
of our passengers (we paying P. 200 of y^e said money), to
Marseilles. We would have embarked on y^e Settee imme-
diately, but her commander, Capt. Guiran, was not then
willing to receive us, pretending he would first clear his
Cabin of y^e Spaniards, and (Wind & weather permitting)
come to us y^e next morning.

January 30.—The Settee came to us according to her Com-
mander's promise, and having taken leave of Capt. Corraill
(by whom I ws most respectfully treated, and saluted with
7 Guns at my departure), I went on board y^e Settee, who set-
sail immediately, and arrived at Porte Scodie, a small village

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with a Tower for its defence, on y^e Inhabitance of which
against S^t Peter's Island), about Sunsett to pass between
two Spaniards, who had no mind to go with us to Marseilles.

January 31.—This morning early we put y^e Spaniards
ashore, and by 8 set saile for Marseilles. By 3 in y^e After-
noon (finding y^e wind contrary at Sea) returned and anchored
at S^t Peter's Island, and by Sunsett (y^e Wind coming up to
East again) we sett saile y^e second time for Marseilles.

February 1687.

February 1.—The Wind coming up last night about 12
o'clock at N.W., and blowing hard, we lay by all night, and
before 10 this morning anchored againe, in a Storme of Wind
under S^t Peter's Island.

February 2.—About 12 o'clock noone, came into this road
a small fly-boat with English Colours, who had lost all her
Masts. My Nephew and I went aboard with our Capt^r to
see what she wanted in this miserable condition. She is
called y^e *Providence*, Daniel Morley, Commander, belonging
to M^r James Denn of Marke Lane, London, laden with salt
from Juasy, bound for Villa France. She mett with the
Storme on y^e 24th and 25th Ultimo, which was so violent
that y^e first day it carryed away her Foremast and Boltprit,
and y^e next day her Main and Mizen Masts, leaving her like
a Wrack. The Sea frequently running over her Hoope, it
once ran so high as to wash and endanger y^e carrying away
a man from off y^e Main Yard. It broke and wash away
her two boats, strongly lashed in 9 places, and carryed away
her Sheet Anchor from her bow. I knew her Gunner, one
Jeremy Bascum, formerly servant to M^r Nathanael Letter
in London.

February 3.—This morning, by break of day, y^e Ship
Providence ran aground, her Commander desirous to go
between y^e Islands Sardinia and Lulus da Boly where y^e

English Platts and Waggoners make a large passage, but in truth there is none, the said two Islands being joined together by a Bridge. The right passage is between Palma and St. Peter's Island. Y^e shipp^e had been there undoubt-
edly lost, and y^e men in great hazard of their lives (if any had escaped), had it not been for y^e great Diligence and Industry of Capt. Guiran, who (for my sake) went off to her in his boat, and cariyed out her anchors (her ewne boates being all lost in y^e Storme), and helped to throw out 5 tons of her salt to lighten y^e Vessell, by which means she got off into 5 fathoms of Water.

Our Captain likewise lent her Commander, Capt. Morley, P. 50, not having any money to buy him provisions in this his extremity (for which I was his Security), and gave his bill for y^e Sum on Messrs. Goodwin & Martin, in Marseilles.

February 4.—We lay in Harbour.

February 5.—We sailed about 3 o'clock this morning with a very bare wind, & by 11 o'clock at night anchored in y^e Bay of Oristan (in our Platts called Napoli), a most excellent good harbour, sufficient to containe 500 sail of Ships. Its entrance is 10 miles at least. We mett here a French Shippe wanting 20 dayes from Cyprus. She has lost y^e head of her Boltsprit, and cracked her Fore Topmast in foul Weather: she has lain here 17 dayes for a fair wind to Marseilles.

February 6 & 7.—We lay in the Bay of Orestan [Oristano].

February 8.—This morning, by 3 o'clock, y^e wind coming up at S.S.E., our Captaine sett saile. Without y^e Port we found y^e wind freathe upon us on y^e same Point, and con-

¹ I.e., Charts and Sailing Directories. But the second word should be *Waggoner*, from the famous Dutch author on Navigation, Lucas Tanaz Waggoner, whose work, *Spiegel der Zeevaert*, was translated, and popular in the English marine, under the name of the *Mariner's Mirror*. See Mr. Tiele's Introduction to Dr. Burnell's *Liancheton*, p. xxvii. (Hak. Soc., 1881), and Smyth's *Word-book*, s. v. *Waggoner*.—T.

tioned a strong gale all y^e day. Our Course N.N.W. and N.W. b. N.

February 9.—The gale continued fresh all y^e last night. This moruning at Sunrising the weather began to grow dity and foggy, with frequent showres of raine. About 11 we discovered y^e Isles of Airee [Hyères], near Toulon, which we had no sooner done, but on a suddaine the wind came about contrary at S.W. and then N.W., so that we had some trouble and difficulty to get into the said Harbour of y^e Isles of Airee, where we anchored about 2 o'clock this afternoone. At Sun-sett we weighed again, and y^e wind increasing to a Storme with a N.W. wind, put into Toulon before morning.

February 10.—I went into y^e Citty of Toulon, and thence into y^e Lazarettta.

February 18.—I was visited in y^e Lazarettta by Capt. Say, Capt. Gibson, Cominander of y^e George, M^r Packston, & M^r Sandland, this latter accompanying Capt. Say to y^e East Indies by way of Aleppo.

February 19.—This morning y^e Officer of y^e Sanita gave me Pratrick. I went ashore in Captain Gibson's boat, accompanied with Capt. Waters, Comman^r of [], and dined with them in Toulon. I was invited to supper by Mons^r Sabatory, an eminent French merchant, and to bear the company he invited likewise Mons^r Bidau, a Captain of one of the King of France's Men-of-War.

February 20.—I left Toulon at 7 o'clock in y^e morning (being carryed in a litter), and arrived at Marseilles about 7 at night, and lay at Mr Hastings' house till y^e 28 Instant.

February 28.—This Morning my Nephew, Robert Hedges, & I sett out in a litter from Marseilles towards Lyons. We dyned at St. Port, and lay at Lambasè [i.e., Lambesc].

March 1687.

March 1.—I dyned at Orgone [i.e., Orgon] and then Avignon.

March 2.—I dyned at Orange (from whence y^e Prince of Orange takes his title) and lay at Toulon [Toulon].

March 3.—I dyned at Moustiers [Moustiers] and lay at Loriol.

March 4.—I dyned at Valence & lay at St. Valie [St. Valier].

March 5.—I dyned at Le Poige de Rousillon [? Poige de Rousillon] and lay at Vienna.

March 6.—I arrived by 11 in y^e morning at Lyons, and lay this night at y^e 3 Kings—a good Inn. Here I discharged our Muleteer, having paid him Livres 66, or P. 22,¹ and hired 2 Places in y^e Diligence for Paris, for which each person is to pay 22 Crowns. Diet included.

March 7.—We departed from Lyons in a boat, and lay at Mascoco [Macon].

March 8.—We embarked again very early, and about noon arrived at Challoon [Chalons]. Here we took coach (paying 5 Solas per pound for our Portmanteaus, except 10th presented), and lay at Shawe [? Chagny].

March 9.—We sett out at 4 in y^e morning, dyned at Arnay le Dyo, and lay at Essolio [? Saulieu].

March 10.—We dyned at Busele Forgis and lay at Vermoneton [Vermenton].

March 11.—We set out at 3 in y^e morning, & at 8 dyned at Osser [Auxerre], & lay at Villeneuf le Roi [i.e., V. sur Yonne].

March 12.—We dyned at Vilneuf le guerry [Elguier] and lay at Melun.

March 12.—By 10 in y^e Morning arrived at Paris, and lay at y^e Ville d'Anjou, in the Dolphin's Eresse.

March 16.—About 10 o'clock this morning my Nephew Hedge and I tooke Coach for St. Denis, and there took post towards Cullin.

¹ The Fr. Livre at that time was in 16. 6d. nearly, therefore 1 P. = 16. 6d. And this confirms the supposition in note at p. 244.—J.

MS. B. 1. 17. VOL. 1. PART 1. PAGE 177. MARCH 29. 1687.

March 29.—This morning I arrived in the afternoon
in y^e Golden Dragon—a good Inn.

April 1687.

April 3.—About 2 o'clock this afternoon I embarked on y^e
Packet boat at Calis for Dover.

April 4.—At 1 this morning I arrived (praised be God) at
Dover, and lay this night at Canterbury.

April 5.—This Evening I mett my Cousin, Dr. Charles
Hedges, my two Brothers Vanacker, M^r. Webster, M^r. Sturz,
M^r. Mayree, & M^r. Wallopp, at Rochester.

April 6.—My brother and Sister, Sr. Jeremy Sambroke &
his Lady, M^r. William Johnson and his Lady, my Cousin
Tresser, my Sister Newton, and my 3 children, did me the
honor to meet me at Blackheath and accompany me to Lon-
don, where I arrived (blessed be God) in good health this
Evening.

April 7.—I waited upon my Lord High Chancellor Jefferys,
accompanyyed with Sir Rob^t. Clayton & Sir Jeremy Sambroke.
His Lordship was pleased to bid me welcome home, and to
tell me (amongst other discourse) he did not care if all y^e
India Comp^y. knew he had a greater kindness and respect
for me than he had for Sir Josia Child.

July 1687.

July 21.—I marryed Madam Anne Searle, y^e Widow of
Col. John Searle of Finchly. The Office was performed by
Dr. John Tillotson, Deane of Canterbury, in Bassishaw Church.
We dynd at my Uncle Anthony's house in Coleman Street
and went to Finchly in y^e Evening.

March 1688.

March 6.—This Afternoon his Maj^{ts} King James
pleased (as a marks of his Royall favour) to confer
hony of Knighthood in his Bedchamber.

[Here the Journal ends abruptly, without any signature. The remaining half of the page is blank, as also the "fly leaf"; then eight leaves, which may or may not have been manuscript, have been roughly torn out; then follow twelve blank leaves, and on the fly leaf at the end of the book (a folio 14 inches by 9) are some memoranda as follows:—]

The removall of Agent Dacres (being greatly favoured and beloved by y^e King of Bantam), together with M^r. Arnold White's rude and uncivill carriage towards him at his first Arrivall, is judged to have been the cause of the losse of Bantam.

Sept. 24, 1685.—I presented y^e Calenter (or Chief of y^e Armenian Merchants) of Giulfa with a bag of Sugar of Okes 35, and another Bag to Hegea Kiragoos, his Brother, of Okes 39½.

The City of Lar in Persia lies in y^e Lat. of 27° 44' N.

"	Shiras	"	"	"	29° 40' N.
"	Spahan	"	"	"	32° 40' N.

From Gombroon to Lar are Leagues 42= miles 126

"	Lar	"	Shiras	"	64=	"	192
"	Shiras	"	Spahan	"	78=	"	219
					"	179=	637 miles

* The English were expelled from Bantam on August 30th, 1682.—
Ousey's *Hist. Fragments*, p. 118; Bruce's *Annals*, ii, p. 486.

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